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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COMMUNICATIVE SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES: KOREA AND CANADA

by

SOO-HYANG CHOI

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1990



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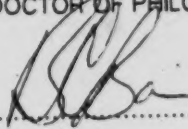
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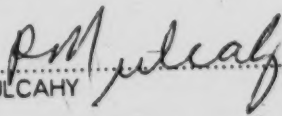
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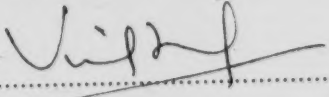
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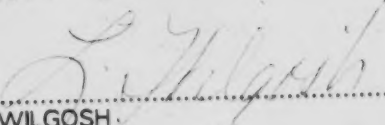
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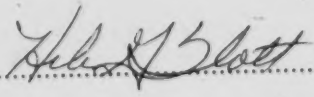
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Abstract

The study was concerned with the child's socialization processes in Korea and Canada, with a particular attention paid to the child's daily communicative experiences with the mothers. The main objectives were to describe the mother's culture-specific communicative patterns, and to determine if any differentiated influences were operating on the child's psychosocial development.

Two mother-child dyads were drawn from each cultural group. 15 sessions of 30 minute video-taping occurred in their home. The data were treated to a communicative analysis in which 3 aspects of the mother's utterances were determined: thematic progress, affecting styles, and semantic contents.

The communicative pattern of each group was interpreted in terms of the mother's different perceptions of the child's psychosocial reality. Korean mothers viewed the children's psychosocial reality as being not yet fully functional, and showed assisting patterns of communication. Canadian mothers emphasized an autonomous psychosocial reality of their children, and posed themselves as communicative colleagues of their children.

The study concluded with an appeal for a psychosocial model of child's communicative socialization processes.

Acknowledgement

This work is imbued with an immeasurable amount of gratitude owed to a variety of people. The seven years of long journey have been full of care, patience, support, and sharing of those without whom I now know I could never have completed this work. The most memorable benefactors are my supervisor, Dr. B. Bain and his wife, Dr. A. Yu. In every aspect, they have endured with me down the road, with its long hours of laboring, to this moment of fruition. They have all the rights to claim the credit for this joyful culmination.

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Most deserving of thanks are the mothers and the children who participated in the research. Their unselfish generosity not only made the research itself possible, but also provided me with an opportunity to register new unsolved problems. Future studies that I will be concerned with will remember those little fellows and their ever-caring guardians as the major source of inspiration.

My indebtedness of gratitude would never be balanced off without paying an ultimate due to my family. My sisters and brother have been more than willing to take care of various kinds of odds and ends for me while I have been away from home, and I have never seen them grow weary in this priceless service and cheerful support. They are cordially invited to relish the sweet result of this team work. Lastly, I owe my parents my whole life, not to mention the completion of this study. Every hour and minute of my growth to this very moment are shamelessly wrinkled in their ever-so gentle and comforting face. I dedicate with all my heart this small accomplishment to their selflessly devoted authorship of my life.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of the Study

It goes without saying that a child does not grow by himself/herself. A child's developmental process involves a primary social communicative interaction with adult members of the society. The basic assumption of this dissertation is that the essence of this socialization process of the child can be best illustrated through examining the sociogenetic process of the child's **psychosocial** relations with others. While previous research has erred by not recognizing the psychosocial dynamics between mother and child, it is argued that a formulation of certain communicative patterns between the mother and the child is necessarily underlaid by the psychosocial dynamics of the two. It is viewed that this psychosocial identity of the communicative interaction should be an integral part of the studies of mother-child communicative socialization. The goal of this thesis is to pursue a balanced and contemporary understanding of mother-child dynamics underlying the mother's communicative patterns in different cultural groups.

It is an overdue argument that child development, social interaction, and the socialization process are inextricably interrelated and inseparable from one another. Child development cannot be adequately conceptualized as being other than a socialization process maintained through the child's social interaction with adults, and governed by the specific socio-cultural context (Mead, 1934; Riegel, 1976, 1978; Bain, 1983). This sociogenetic thesis of child development, however, has not been sufficiently recognized in studies of child development.

For a long time, biological mechanisms and behavioral dispositions have been assumed to constitute the basis of child development. For those who have been concerned with the child's social interaction, the focus has been to investigate its effects on the child's cognitive or linguistic development, but not on the general socialization process. Language, cognition, mother-child interaction, and socialization have been distinguished by their "own" functions, issues, and methodological procedures, and studied separately. The socialization effects embedded in the child's linguistic and cognitive development and in the child's social interaction have long gone unnoticed.

The area of child language socialization is a rare exception to this fragmentary view of child development (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). It integrates the two subjects, communication and socialization, and brings to focus the socialization process embedded in the child's communicative experiences with a mother. As a result, "mother-child interaction" is given a new definition as a process through which the child comes to learn how to negotiate with and interpret the social environment. The child's socialization process is thus framed in a new perspective, emphasizing the communicative experiences with the mother as the major contextual factor.

Although the language socialization approach is a genuine advancement, especially regarding socialization, communication, and child development, it presents only a part of the picture. It pays insufficient attention to the psychosocial mechanisms underlying diverse language use. In the language socialization approach, socialization process has been identified with specific language uses in daily life, and researchers have documented various communicative features, such as daily interactional routines, narrative skills, or verbal play, to name a few (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). But the psychosocial processes underlying these communications have been routinely downplayed.

Given that the mother-child interaction is a socio-cultural process constrained by various factors in a given socio-cultural context, concern with the overt patterns and organizations can reveal the socio-cultural properties governing the child's socialization process. But the organizations themselves, I suggest, are not what underlies the child's socialization process. They are merely overt manifestations of the underlying process. Like any other form of social behavior, mother-child communication is a psychosocial phenomenon representing the way the mother and the child perceive and deal with each other. A **topography** of the psychosocial dynamics between the mother and the child is a necessary component for a formulation of their communicative pattern.¹ Without the knowledge of this underlying psychosocial configuration, the overt communicative patterns reveal little about the socialization process, because child socialization is a

¹ Unlike Kurt Lewin's (1936) notion of "topology", the psychosocial topography is not concerned with the illustration of external forces or elements constituting the individual's phenomenal self. It rather focuses on the relational maps of the **phenomenal boundaries** of each individual self.

psychosocial process which necessarily involves a certain psychological formation by the child about his/her social world.

It is imperative to note that to emphasize the importance of the psychological process is not to argue for a return to the "psychologization" of socialization process. Nor is the concept of "psychosocial topography" purely psychological in nature. The focus is on a conceptual formulation that would contain both the socio-cultural systems and the child's individual developmental process. Such conceptual formulation is expected to describe how the external socio-cultural context comes to shed influence on the child's individual developmental process, and how the child's developmental process reflects this inextricable relation to the overall socio-cultural systems. Thus, the importance of the child's communicative experiences can be recognized only to the extent that such social experiences provide the child with an initial idea of the prevailing psychosocial patterns of his/her environment. Acquisition of the culture-specific psychosocial topography is regarded as the central part of a child's socialization process.

In accordance with this conceptual focus, the present study examines the communicative socialization processes in different cultures, with special attention paid to the underlying psychosocial dynamics between the mother and the child. Choosing Korea and Canada as the two comparative groups, the study intends to describe the culture-specific topography of the psychosocial dynamics of the mother-child communication. In doing so, it does not follow the conventional logico-deductive approach. The present study is characterized by its search process for culture-specific communicative patterns and their corresponding psychosocial correlates. It does not attempt to verify hypotheses, but to generate hypotheses of the culture-specific socialization processes. In short, the present study is an attempt to formulate initial understanding of the socialization processes in Korea and Canada by generating the psychosocial categories representing the mother-child communication in the respective cultures.

B. Premises of the Study

It is assumed that an investigation of cultural similarities and differences in the mother's behavior and child socialization processes will reveal more common themes than will the study of one culture alone. However, cross-cultural approaches sometimes find social class variables to be indicators of the differentiation of the mother's behavior. Abundant empirical data (e.g., Bain & Yu, 1982; Choi, 1985) seem to preclude any arguments against this observation. For example, Choi (1985) studied the mother's speech in Korea and showed that like the upper class Western mothers, the upper class Korean mothers' speech style was characterized by their communicative "responsiveness." It is, however, questionable whether the presence of similar patterns of behavior in different cultural groups can be argued for the equatable socio-cultural meanings of those behaviors in each culture. For instance, it is doubtful whether the "responsive talk" of a upper class Korean mother stems from the same socio-cultural intentions and attitudes as those of her Canadian counterpart. It is even more doubtful that consequences would be identical. Depending upon the specific cultural and historical contexts, the same behavior can result in different forms and contents of socialization effects, because the contextual factors differently mediate interpretations of mothers' behavior. While it is certainly true that there is some degree of universality, mother's behavior is constrained by local socio-cultural variables. It is these socio-cultural variables of the mother's behavior and socialization processes which the present study aims to investigate.

Secondly, the mother is assumed to be the major caregiver, the primary socializing agent in child development. It is a truism that the child's social experiences involve a wider radius of social networks with other members of the family and the community, and the complexity of child development necessarily reflects the dynamic interrelationship among these various social agents. An equally undeniable fact is, however, that it is the mother who initially "gives core" to the child. The social experience with the mother is distinguished from the other similar experiences in that the former sets the basic direction for the latter. The subsequent social relationships are elaborative processes of this basic framework of social relationship outlined by the mother. Interest of the present study in this formative, initial stage of child socialization

process limits the perspective of the study to this primary socialization agent, the mother, to the exclusion of the others.

Thirdly, the notion of child's interaction is understood primarily by its social character.² It is distinguished from Jean Piaget's³ understanding of it as a mere contact of the child with the physical aspects of the environment. The child's interaction is assumed to necessarily involve active participation of both the child and his/her social agents. Moreover, it is assumed not to be reducible to the child's independent psychological process. As Lev Vygotsky (1981) viewed, the child's social interaction is an interpsychological process, a conceptual prototype of the child's internalized individual psychological process. It precedes the ontogenesis of the child's psychological functions. It is the contextual reality where the child comes to formulate the "general genetic law of cultural" development (Wertsch, 1985b).

Fourthly, the present study is concerned with the generation of psychosocial categories that will differentiate the mother's communicative patterns and socialization processes in the two cultures. The methodological emphasis is on the description of the generative process of categories, but not on the verification of hypotheses. There are no hypotheses or categories to begin with in which the mothers in the two cultural groups are expected to show differences. It is the intention of this study to generate or develop such systems and discuss their specific socialization effects. Presumably, the categories that will be developed in the study are subject to future verification processes, and the discussions made in the study are to be confirmed with further elaborated analysis. The present study finds its significance in providing the initial basis for such future endeavors.

C. Summary

The main objective of the present study is to describe how the mothers in Korea and Canada perceive the psychosocial topography or dynamics of the children, and how these perceptions affect their communicative strategies. The underlying assumption is that mother-child communication is basically a socio-cultural phenomenon, and that the

² In this dissertation, an interaction is assumed to be a communicative interaction.

³ Major theorists are identified in full names.

communicative psychosocial dynamics would reveal the basic socialization processes of children in both countries.

The study begins with a critical review of the literature of the mother-child interaction in general. The focus is on pointing out the lack of concern with socio-cultural perspective. Efforts will be also made to demonstrate the intimate relationship between the socio-cultural context and people's communication. Also included is a necessary review of language socialization, its premises and pitfalls.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A. Mother-Child Interaction I: Traditional Approaches

The child's social experience with the mother was traditionally understood as a mother-child **relationship**, with mother leading and child following, not as mother-child interaction. The emphasis on the interactive aspect is a recent development. Lately, the focus has again shifted to the **communicative** features. Mother-child interactions are now being designated as "mother-child communicative interactions." In the present chapter, the literature reviewed gave special attention to the "relationship" and the "interaction" phases of this development. The next chapter will deal with the "communication" phase in detail. In both chapters, a major stress is that there has been insufficient concern with the socio-cultural nature and implications of the child's daily experiences with the mother.

Psychoanalytic theory

It was Sigmund Freud (1940) who is usually credited with noting the developmental significance of the child's relationship with its mother. He wrote that an infant was born with various libidous needs, and that successful gratifications of these needs were the crucial determinants of his/her personality into adulthood. Other psychoanalysts (e.g., Benedek, 1938; Erikson, 1963) also noted that the constantly attained gratification of physiological needs led the child to develop a sense of trust or distrust in his/her environment. Current theorists of mother-child interaction (e.g., Lamb, 1981a, 1981b) also agree on the positive effect of the mother's responsive nursing behavior on the emergence of trust, security, confidence, predictability and reliability in the environment. They believe that it becomes the fundamental basis for a healthy development as well as the negative effects of distrusting relationship.

It is a truism that a child, in his/her early period, is strong on physiological demands, and a caregiver's main responsibility is to attend to these basic needs. As a focus is placed on the child's biological needs, however, the socially constructed interactional dynamic between the mother and child receives relatively little attention. According to the psychoanalytic view, it is basically the child's physiological needs that

are assumed to trigger the maternal contact with the child. In principle, once the gratification of needs is attained, there is no more reason for the mother and child to interact, unless there occurs another session of need-arousal. The child's physiological needs unilaterally govern the whole procedure of the establishment of the relationship.

The lack of concern of psychoanalysis with the interactive aspect is not solely due to its adoption of the tension-reduction principle. Psychoanalytic theory places heavy emphasis on notions of affect as the central mechanism of the mother's behavior. For example, in explaining the development of trust, Erik Erikson (1963) noted that trust depended not only on the mother's predictable behavior but also on the mother's "confidence" in her behavior, but there is no specific explanation as to how this confidence is enacted in an interactional situation. Similarly, Winnicott (1971), commenting on the cognitive effect of mother's behavior, stated that a mother played a "role of mirror," but the empirical manifestations of this role of mirror are far from being clear.

It is not denied that the child has a keen sensibility to the emotional state of the caregiver (Campos, 1984; Klinnert, Campos, Sorce, Emde, & Svejda, 1983), nor that the mother-child relationship is coloured by affective mood (Spitz, 1965). Rather, it is that the affective approach to the mother-child interaction is more metaphoric than empirically heuristic. Psychoanalytic perspectives are unable to unravel the actual ongoing processes behind the affective psychological constructs. The affective terms lack in explanatory power. Descriptions like "mirrored image," "empathy," "love," or "hatred" do not provide precise information on what actually happens during the child's interaction with his/her caregiver.

The reciprocal exchange between the mother and child is largely missed in the psychoanalytic approach. The mother's role is reduced to mere nursing activity. What Jerome Bruner (1983) calls, the "scaffolding function" for the construction of dynamic patterns of social interaction between mother and child is not recognized by the psychoanalysts.

Attachment theory

While the psychoanalytic model views the child's physiological needs as the basic element in framing a mother-child relationship, attachment theory sees the child's predisposed behavioral systems as the underpinnings of the child's tie to a mother. John Bowlby (1969) suggests that the child is born with many preprogrammed behavioral responses, such as suckling, clinging, crying, or smiling, and through the mother's responsive assistance these behaviors become a basis of the mother-child interaction. In this view, the mother's response is assumed to be an essential element for integrating the child's innate behavioral patterns into socially-directed interactive gestures. Recent studies on a micro-level of analysis of the mother-child interaction have provided supportive data for the reciprocal nature of the relationship (Schaffer, 1977). The detailed descriptions of the mother's behavioral coordinations to the child's behavioral initiatives, such as gaze coordination (Stern, 1974), postural coorientation (Collins & Schaffer, 1975), clearly show the dyadic organization of the mother-child interaction (Trevarthen, 1979).

These studies constitute a generally improved understanding of the nature of the mother-child interaction. They bring to attention the fact that an important feature of the interaction is the interplay of the child's initial potentials and the mother's responsive attitudes. However, they have neglected an equally important fact that the mother's responses are socially and culturally conducted behavior. Socio-cultural context is not an eiphenomenon. It is integral to the mother's lived experience. But in the current studies of the mother-child interaction, the mother's behavior is viewed as an ahistorically sanitized response emitted to the stimulus released from the child. Variations in the mother's behaviors are thought to be only a function of the child's behavioral repertoire.

This S-R type of reciprocity between the mother and child represents the ethologists' view of human behavior (Lorenz, 1935; Tinbergen, 1951). These ethologists are interested in unlearned or instinctive behaviors of animals. They suggest that a great deal of the mother's behavioral repertoires in other species are instinctive responses that are automatically released by specific external stimuli. Likewise, the reactions of the young to their parents are species-specific behaviors that are biologically

preprogrammed. According to this view, the reciprocity between the human mother and child is also a result of a series of S-R relations, of which bonds are innately determined by the specific properties of the stimulus from the other party. While rejecting the notion of biologically determined bonding, neo-psychoanalysis (e.g., Bowlby, 1969) suggests that an acquired identification between mother and child better captures the human dynamics.

The consequence of this quasi-mechanical, quasi-ethological S-R perspective is immediately evident. Researchers become less concerned with ecological, socio-cultural variables of mother's behavior. They tend to believe in the universality of the mother's behavior and depreciate the value of mother-child interaction as a social learning ground. These researchers seem unaware that mother and child interaction is a **socialization process** through which the socio-cultural orders are exchanged with the new members of the community. The socio-culture-specific factors governing the daily interactions are *terra ingonita*, and the social functions performed in an interaction are rarely discussed. The current literature of mother-child interaction is in grave need of an orientation adjustment toward a socio-cultural view of child development.

Early social interactionism: the Vygotskian connection

A sociogenetic perspective stipulates that the social interaction between mother and child is the basis of ontogenesis. The perspective is clearly formulated in Vygotsky's "general law."

Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category and then within the child as an intrapsychological category (Vygotsky, 1981, p. 163).

Vygotsky suggests that social interaction is not a mere transitional process through which the child's inborn psychological properties are organized and coordinated into a mature form, but a fundamental ingredient in the development. Social interaction is the very locus of all psychological functions in that the social functions transacted at an interpersonal level are, through internalization, reorganized into inner psychological functions.

Given that social interaction plays such a large role in Vygotsky's writing, it is ironic that he said very little about the nature of social interaction per se. Take the example of "double stimulation." In this procedure, the subject is given a task of sorting wooden blocks and the clues to the solution are introduced stepwise, with each new turn of a block. The gradual introduction of the means of the solution enables a researcher to observe a mental process occurring with an introduction of each aid. But such a method does not help the researcher observe the social and historical vestiges embedded in the behavior under investigation.

This apparent inconsistency in Vygotsky's work has to do with his basic interest in the development of higher mental functions, such as voluntary attention, memory, or consciousness. As Wertsch (1985b) pointed out, "Vygotsky's main concern was with the linkage between interpsychological and intrapsychological functioning" (p. 61). Social interaction was introduced as an indispensable instrument to assume the interpsychological origin of the intrapsychological functioning. His ultimate interest was to see how these interpsychological functions were processed and formulated into intrapsychological functions. Naturally, the formation of the intrapsychological functions became the primary focus of interest, and little attention was paid to the social level of the individuals' interaction with others.

Vygotsky's sociogenesis thesis has contributed to the generation of a plethora of cognition studies in relation to social interaction (Wertsch, 1985a), but no like impetus has been given to the socio-cultural nature of the original process, albeit the due attention to the interactional process itself. Until recent time, his theory of social interaction has remained a hypothetical process that has not been brought to a rigorous empirical examination (Wertsch, 1985b). The socio-cultural nature of child development has been discussed in its internalized cognitive form, but not in its corresponding psychosocial representation. And the interactional organization of specific socio-cultural correlates in child's socialization process has gone unnoticed. The child's social interaction and its socialization effect remain to be recognized.

B. Mother-Child Interaction II: Communicative Approaches

While the significance of the socio-cultural nature of the mother-child interaction is yet to be fully recognized, there has been a notable development in the area of the mother-child interaction; that is, the growing emphasis on the dialogic or communicative aspect of mother-child interaction (Howe, 1981). The new conceptual thrust has gone so far as to designate the mother-child social interaction a **communicative** interaction (Bullowa, 1979). In these cases, the mother-child interaction is specified in communicative terms. For example, Halliday (1979) noted that the child's prelinguistic interaction with the mother had basic communicative functions, and suggested to refer to the child's "act of meaning" to a "protolanguage." These researchers have uncovered what they see as the most essential medium of the interaction, language.

Unfortunately, the new trend has not lived up to its initial promises. Instead of viewing the communicative interaction as a case of a socialization in which the mother exposes the child to socio-culturally prescribed ways of interacting with people, the communicative interaction is seen as a major educational ground for child's language development (Schmidt, 1973). Communication is treated as a linguistic performance based on the acquisition of communicative techniques, whose development is considered separately from the socio-cultural context.

The following review highlights this predicament in the current studies of mother-child communicative interaction. Two areas of study are recognized as being relevant: "motherese"⁴, research which focuses on linguistic effects of the mother-child communication; and child communication, which is concerned with the technical aspects of the child's communicative development.

Motherese

While the Chomskian linguistic and Piagetian cognitive models of child language development have looked into the child's innate ability as a basis of language learning, motherese researchers (e.g., Newport, 1976; Snow & Ferguson, 1977) have been concerned with the effect of the linguistic environment. The motherese hypothesis is

⁴ When mothers speak to their young children, their speech differs from their speech with adults. This stylistic variant of mothers' speech is called motherese (Newport, H. Gleitman, & L. Gleitman, 1979).

that language acquisition does depend, to some degree, upon the linguistic input from the environment. Researchers' tasks have been to determine the features of the mother's speech which are positively correlated to the child's language development (Banigan & Mervis, 1988; Bloom, 1988; Mervis & Mervis, 1988; Nelson, Hirsh-Pasek, Jusczyk, & Cassidy, 1989).

It has been found that the mother's speech is restricted and concrete in its vocabulary (Hayes & Ahrens, 1988); short, simple and well-formed in its sentences (Brown & Bellugi, 1964); rarely complex or compound in grammatical structure (Snow, 1972). These features have been interpreted as facilitating language learning by quantitatively controlling the amount of linguistic input directed to the child. The mother's speech also assists the child with qualitative aspects of language learning by producing "recast" types of speech, wherein the child's utterances are reformulated in a more grammatically elaborated manner without changing the intended meaning (Cross, 1976; Hoff-Ginsberg, 1985).

While the effects of motherese on the child's language development are still being debated, there has been no equal discussion regarding the socio-cultural variations or implications of the mother's speech. The reported characteristics of motherese are considered universal features as if they would be found in any socio-cultural group. Mother's speech is not recognized as a socio-culture-specific phenomenon. Its importance as a primary means of the child's socialization process is, thus, far from being fully recognized. A few rare studies that have observed socio-cultural variations and the different socialization effects of motherese in different cultures demonstrate that such a linguistic approach to the subject is a seriously flawed conception (Ochs, 1988).

Ochs (1982) made it clear that the functions of the mother's speech are not just limited to linguistic lessons to a child. Rather it is a way of responding to situations in a culturally appropriate manner and of transmitting cultural knowledge to the child. Ochs' argument is based on her observation of the Western Samoan mothers. Unlike Western mothers, the Western Samoan mothers do not produce expansions which are a means of assessing the mothers' understanding of what children are expressing. An example of speech expansion

is:

C: Mommy apple?

M: Mommy has an apple?

Observing this cultural difference, Ochs looked into the general cultural belief of the Western Samoan mothers. In Western Samoan culture, people are not conceived of as the central control mechanisms that organize and direct their actions. Naturally the intention behind one's behavior is not an issue at all, and the clarification of exact intentions behind a child's utterance is hardly a prime concern of the mothers. Besides, the Western Samoan mothers tended to consider the children's egocentric articulation as not a part of the language. Also their tradition does not expect a high status person to adjust his/her utterances to those of a lower status. The combination of these cultural beliefs and value systems, Ochs argued, functions as a deterrent to the Western Samoan mothers' production of expansion.

Ochs (1988) further noted that even the simplification of the mother's speech, which has been suggested as the most distinctive feature of motherese, was also subject to socio-cultural variation.

In certain societies more than others, caregivers are expected to make rather dramatic accommodation to young children's cognitive immaturity...In societies where this expectation prevails, such as American white middle-class society, caregivers simplify their speech in addressing small children. In societies where this expectation does not prevail, such as traditional Western Samoan society and Kaluli (Papua New Guinea) society, caregivers do not simplify their speech to the extent characteristic of the American middle class (Ochs, 1988, p. 23).

In fact, Ochs' argument suggests that most of the motherese features that have been discussed in the current literature of motherese are subject to socio-cultural variations.

It is important to note there that all societies do not rely on the very same set of language-socializing procedures. Indeed, although prompting a child what to say appears wide spread, expanding children's utterances, using leading questions, announcing activities/events for a child, and using a simplified lexicon and grammar to do so are cross-culturally variable (Ochs, 1986, p. 6).

An implication of all these arguments is that the mother's speech is greatly constrained by the systems of beliefs and values underlying the mother's social life.

Mother's speech is a linguistic product of cultural expectation concerning appropriate manners of human activities. In other words, the mother-child interaction is basically a socialization process through which the child comes to acquire tacit knowledge of the social order. Language, which is the single most important medium of the mother-child communicative interaction (Bain, 1987), does not retain its neutrality when in use. Socio-cultural information is generally encoded in the organization of conversational discourse, as well as in the formal features, such as phonological and morphosyntactic constructions, the lexicon...etc. (Ochs, 1986; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Bain, Yu, & Choi, 1987)

The mother's speech cannot be viewed simply in terms of its instrumental function for the child's language learning only. It is a means of transmitting culturally significant knowledge to the child. Its functional and formal features all succumb to the socio-cultural influences, and carry within themselves these socio-cultural conditions, which are transmitted to the child through daily interaction. The current motherese studies, which have been heavily oriented to linguistic aspects and impacts of motherese, are in need of recontextualization by a socio-cultural stance.

Child communication

Traditionally, child language development has been studied in its lexicogrammatical aspects. Language development has been seen as a gradual process of appropriating items into the linguistic repertoire according to syntax rules. The main task of researchers has been to collect the child's utterances and to analyze them as they evolve into a more complex grammatical system.

The interest recently has been extended to communicative functions of language, and researchers have come to believe that the acquisition of capacity to refer and to mean lies at the very heart of language learning. Bruner (1983), for instance, noted that,

When we say that a child is acquiring language, we must account for another aspect of what is being acquired - that is, its function or communicative intent or "how to get things done with words".... Here the criterion for judging progress in acquisition is not so much well-formedness or sense and reference, but something more like effectiveness (p. 18).

Many theorists see the locus of this communicative function as lying in the child's early social interaction with his/her mother. The early dyadic relationship is viewed as

creating a predictable format of interaction that serves as a microcosm for communication. Description of the emerging process of the child's communicative functions through his/her early interaction with the mother thus becomes the main task of researchers of child language development (Bullowa, 1979; Golinkoff, 1983).

Their research has shown that contrary to Piaget's notion of egocentrism, the children, from a very early age, have basic functions of communication. They employ various forms of attention-getting devices to initiate a conversation (Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976; McTear, 1979, 1985); they are capable of maintaining a coherent dialogue by managing appropriate feedback systems (Golinkoff, 1986; Wilcox & Webster, 1980); they maximize the communication by utilizing situation-specific query systems (Anselmi, Tomasello, & Acunzo, 1986; Perner & Leekam, 1986). These studies have provided strong empirical data that the child's communicative competence is far more sophisticated in the early period than Piaget claimed.

What is not recognized in those studies, however, is that these specific communicative skills are not first a verbal expression of semantic or syntactic categories. The studies fail to note that the child's communication is basically a socio-cultural learning process, where the verbal means of expression are adopted as a realization of the child's social interaction with others. Child communication is not a pure linguistic phenomenon where only the linguistic knowledge is counted. It is a cultural event that is initiated and maintained according to specific socio-cultural rules.

In a landmark study, Ervin-Tripp (1977), for example, showed that children's execution of specific communicative attempts was based on their social knowledge of their partner. She observed that the children were able to differentiate the age and rank of the interactant, and changed the type of their request to meet the demands of the situation. For instance, one child differentiated between other 2-year-olds and 3 and 4-year-olds within her nursery school group. She gave no command to the latter group and instead employed only questions. When commands were made to the older children, such polite forms of requests as *please* did not fail to show up. On the whole, there were more imperatives spoken to children than to adults, and practically no negative imperatives to adults. Ervin-Tripp (1977) noted that,

The evidence suggests that the social basis already exists in early years for the development of more subtle forms of deviousness than children actually

use, in that they differentiate in speech between imperatives, modified imperatives, embedded imperatives using questions, and need statements. They are sensitive to certain social variables, in particular the age of addressee, and familiarity, task and the probability of compliance (p. 188).

In a study done by Platt (1986), a similar observation was made. Children's use of speech clearly reflected their understanding of social order. The study examined Samoan children's acquisition of deictic verbs, *give*, and *come*. What was found was that the children always directed *give* to the higher persons and *come* to lower persons. The author's interpretation was that these differentiated uses of the children reflected their understanding of the social orders that it was appropriate for small children to ask the adult to give them an item, but not socially acceptable to ask the adult or higher person to come.

Ochs' statement lucidly sums up these observations:

Language has constructions at all levels of grammar and discourse that signal information concerning how interactants see their own and others' social positions and roles. As children acquire language, they are acquiring knowledge of this vital aspect of social order. Another way of putting this is to say that part of acquiring language is the acquisition of the social meaning of linguistic structures (Ochs, 1986, p. 7).

It is this social meaning of child communication that has been largely missed in the current studies of child communication. The child's communication has been represented as a linguistic performance actualizing linguistic competence at a practical level. Such conception misses the essence of communication, namely the types of social need which trigger a communicative exchange, and the socio-cultural norms which will determine the type of specific communicative act. A communicative interaction is guided and maintained by certain socio-cultural goals. Neglecting this underlying force is to disregard the very reason for which the communication is attempted. To grasp the full significance of child communication necessitates seeing its genesis in a socio-cultural context.

C. Culture, Society, and Language

While the psychologists have yet to attain the conceptual understanding of the inextricable relationship between people's communicative interaction and their socio-cultural reality, the cultural anthropologists and interpretive sociologists have long recognized the socio-cultural nature of human communication. Human communication has

been recognized as the most conspicuous manifestation of a given culture and the very locus of all socio-cultural activities. Organizational patterns and prosodic information, for example, are assumed to encode within themselves the socio-cultural messages. Communicative experiences are immediately identified with socio-cultural experiences.

This chapter aims to provide theoretical support for the socio-cultural nature of people's communicative interaction by describing how the conceptual coalition between the people's communication and the socio-cultural systems has been attained in those areas. Also an effort is made to see how the language socialization studies have integrated this new conceptual development.

Anthropological linguistics

Descriptive analysis

The early methodological framework of anthropological linguistics is characterized by descriptive analyses (Gleason, 1961). Believing that a description of the sounds of a particular language was essential for understanding a language and culture, researchers assumed that their main task was to record all of the sounds heard in speech. Anthropologists, Frantz Boas (1929) and Edward Sapir (1921), for instance, endeavored to describe all of the phonetic sounds of the North American Indian languages, eventually preparing vast phonetic transcriptions.

Sapir later noticed that phonetic elements were not sufficient to write down a language in its sound systems, and focused on the phoneme, the phonetically distinct unit of sound, as the basic unit of description. This endeavor produced the useful distinction between "etic" and "emic," general and specific elements in the organization of phonetic clusters. It was soon apparent that phonological description was not the road to a meaningful description of a language and culture, because one cannot describe the phenomenon in terms of primitive elements only. An independent perceptual or conceptual frame is necessary. Bloomfield (1933) thus insisted on the incorporation of the morpheme as the basic unit of analysis. The next main advance was to adopt a minimum unit of meaning, which was then seen as a combination of phonemes.

The early formulations of phonological and morphological descriptions had no separate level of syntax. Both lexical and grammatical terms were viewed as being

parallel, rather than hierarchical (Eastman, 1975). Thus, an effort was made to involve an analysis at the syntactic level. Gleason (1961) introduced a concept of "immediate constituents" and demonstrated a break-up of a sentence into its major constituents, which was primarily based on a native speaker's perception of "fundamental cleavage." This emphasis on syntax made it possible to describe a language in its "arrangement."

In sum, descriptive linguistics analyzes a language into phonemes, morphemes, and immediate constituents. The underlying assumption is that a description of the language at its surface level would manifest the language in the best way and that the data should be objective and observable. Neither deeper level of systemic analysis nor subjective interpretation is viewed as being necessary or valid.

Structuralism

While descriptive analysts stopped at describing linguistic data being used for language comparison, structuralists went beyond the simple data corpus to linguistic systems recognizable in the corpus. A structuralist, Harris (1951), argued that descriptivism could do no more than present a description of a corpus of data, and attempted to describe the interrelationship of elements within language. His introduction of the concept of components provided a basic structural unit of language system, and rendered the simple, objective linguistic data into an abstract representation of a language system.

On the other hand, the acknowledged father of structural linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure (1966) introduced a distinction between *langue* and *parole*, which marks a major structuralist advancement. Saussure conceived of two dimensions of language: *langue*, the abstract structural features of language as a whole, and *parole*, each instance of speech. This distinction clearly illustrates a language as an abstract structural system made up of each instance of speech at an individual level. Apart from the dialecticians, Vygotsky, Alexander Luria, and Aleksei Leontiev, who were labouring off centre stage, during that period, Saussure's insistence that "this distinction would be useful only when seen as a problem of social-psychology" had been unfortunately ignored by mainstream psychology, a situation that remained until present times.

The structural linguistics approach to culture culminated in the works of Claude Levi-Strauss (1967). As the other structural linguists did not limit their interest to simple descriptions of linguistic data, Levi-Strauss did not stop at discovering the terms within a system, nor was he interested in the mere description of what lay at the surface. He moved one step further and analyzed the system of the **relationship** among various anthropological terms in the system.

Influenced by the structural method, Levi-Strauss (1967) emphasized the shift from the study of conscious linguistic phenomena to a study of unconscious infra-structure as manifesting the relations **between** terms. He urged researchers to pay attention to the concept of the system, instead of a simple list of items, and to discover the general laws behind the interrelated systems. This approach is still current in some cultural anthropological endeavors and certain modern semiotics studies (Troubetzkoy, 1937; Hodge & Kress, 1988).

Transformational/generative grammar

While the structuralists were concerned with the relationships among the structural features of language, Noam Chomsky (1965) pointed to the inadequacy of structural systems alone as the basis of linguistic understanding. He moved away, as the early structuralists did, from descriptive analysis, and at the same time, attempted to construct a formalized general theory of linguistic structure, one which would account for all syntactic structures.

Chomsky's point was that an understanding of language came from determining and describing properties of the system of rules that underlie the features and relationships of language. However, the unique feature of Chomsky's view is that the rules are generated from an innate capacity to acquire a linguistic system. Adding the rationalist dimension to linguistic science, he ascribed the basis of language learning to an innate system, and set up the main task of linguistics as being one to describe how the underlying system generates an infinite number and forms of sentences.

Chomsky's recognition of the dual aspects of linguistic phenomenon, the underlying system, which was termed *competence*, and the overt manifestation of this system, *performance*, produced its parallel distinction in anthropological research. For

instance, Keesing (1976; Keesing & Keesing, 1971) drew an analogy between culture and competence, and behavior and performance. Culture was viewed as an adaptational process where the ideational items were socially realized in a particular environment.⁵ It was a set of standards taken as a guide for acting and interpreting the acts of others (Goodenough, 1970). The focus of these researchers was on studying the behavioral manifestations of cultural ideational codes.

Communicative analysis

Chomsky recognizes both linguistic competence and linguistic performance, but his attention is focused on the description of the former. Likewise, the anthropologists who attempt an anthropological pursuit of this rationalist quest focused on the ideation-sensitized culture, mentioning cultural performance only in passing. Culture is viewed as being fundamentally related to what people know about what they can do or what can be done to or for them, which is the abstract level of culture.

These limitations of ideational anthropology become readily apparent. Keesing and Keesing (1971), for instance, noted that despite the possible analogy of language to culture, culture occurred in a broader framework than that of the behavioral acts. They saw a need for a broader science of communication which would be, "a study of messages, not simply sentences: of non-linguistics as well as linguistic communication: and of contexts and networks as well as codes" (Keesing & Keesing, 1971, p. 85).

A more thorough criticism of the ideational perspective in linguistics and culture was given by Dell Hymes (1972b). He argued that concern with grammatical performance omitted almost everything of socio-cultural significance, and maintained that a communicative feature of language is the most sensitive dimension to cultural differences. He proposed a concept of "communicative competence" to replace the linguistic competence of Chomsky's theory. Acquisition of communicative competence, which consists of knowledge of when to speak, when not to speak, and what to talk

⁵ According to Heinz Werner and Bernard Kaplan (1963), the "person's *inner life*" itself is fundamentally linked to "*socially organized activity* and to communal ways of thinking" (Werner & Kaplan, 1963, p. 327). "When a child learns to articulate speech in order to communicate to others he also learns to communicate to himself" (Werner et al., 1963, p. 327). The "competence" and "performance" levels of people's behavior is, thus, simultaneous in ontogenesis.

about with whom, when, where, in what manner, according to Hymes, is itself cultural learning which involves tacit knowledge to conduct and interpret social experiences.

Studies in modern sociolinguistics have provided findings supporting communicative identification of culture. Gumperz's (1982) works on discourse strategies, for instance, demonstrated that people in different cultures utilized different discourse cues in judging what was intended in discourse, and the type or the content of the strategies employed all reflected different networks of social relationships among people. For example, code switching among bilingual speakers was observed to be intricately related to the social implications and values that they had in regard to a certain speech code. When they wanted to emphasize the "we-ness" among speakers, they turned to the "we-code", which was often their first language, whereas in a formal situation or work place, they distanced themselves from intimacy and informality by using the "they-code" of speech, which was an officially accepted "second" language.

The sensibility of communication to the cultural context is also observed in a study carried out by Bain, Yu and Choi (1987). They found the second language learners, when speaking in their first language, took relatively short pauses and made more interrupting turns, compared to when speaking in their second language. The second language learners, when communicating in their first language system with their own people, tended to extend the individual boundary of social existence so as to take the partners within the range of we-ness. Just as the participants in Gumperz's study employed the "they-code" as an attempt to distance themselves from the partners, the second language learners' return to their own linguistic code enhanced their cultural communality and caused their loosening of communicative formality such as observance of turn-taking. The intimate connection between the linguistic performance and the cultural context can be no more clearly demonstrated than in these observations.

Even if it were not for the empirical evidence, it is a theoretical prerequisite for anthropological linguistics, as an applied linguistics, to take into consideration the communicative conditions of practical life. As Slama-Cazacu (1983) noted, "language is intimately interwoven with the concrete conditions of social life" (p. 258). It cannot be adequately dealt with in absolute detachment of the socio-cultural habitat at which the users are situated. Moreover, culture itself is a phenomenal concept, which necessarily

involves concrete conditions of people's daily life (cf., Johoda, 1984; Rohner, 1984). It is doubtful whether one can conceive of it as an abstract system. Even if it is possible, the effort will be hardly worthy, because cultural variables establish themselves in people's concrete daily communicative behavior (Segall, 1984).

All of this theoretical and empirical information suggests that communicative interaction is the most conspicuous measure of a culture and the fundamental ground for the engagement of cultural activities, lending a communicative interaction as the basic conceptual unit to the study of socio-cultural phenomenon, namely, the child's socialization process.

Interpretive sociology

Basic framework

In the normative paradigm of sociology, people's behavior is viewed as being governed by external social rules such as role expectations, dispositions, or status (Parsons, 1951; Wilson, 1970). There is no such assumption in the interpretive paradigm about existing rules governing people's behavior. The patterns and contents of the behavior are assumed to proceed as the actor is engaged in an interaction. Meanings of actions evolve and change as the interactions continue, and the individual's behavior is governed by his/her perception of another's actions in a specific context. A normative framework of human communication takes the view that people's conversation is a rule-governed phenomenon based on the performative forces hidden behind the utterances (cf., Searle, 1970). But from an interpretive paradigm, people's communicative interaction progresses as they act in the perspective supplied in part by their partner's actions.

What becomes important in an interpretive perspective is the interactional process itself. With the shift from normative to interactional processes, the focus is now on the general role of people's behaviors and on the actor himself in an interactional context (Schutz, 1967). Researchers take the role of the actor and try to see how the actor perceives the interactional context and how this perception affects the actor's subsequent interaction and the whole organization of the interactional context.

There are two lines of approach recognized within this interpretive paradigm: symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology. A brief description of these approaches is presented below to explain how the interactional process is identified with people's social activities.

Symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology: the Mead - Garfinkel connection

George Herbert Mead (1934), a founding father of symbolic interactionism, insisted on the correlative emergence of mind and self through the communicative context. He placed a person's social interaction as the foundation of his/her psychological and social development, and viewed the essence of a person's social interaction as lying in his/her use of symbols. He held that since the use of symbols required one to call out the other person's perspective at the same time that he/she called out his/her own, the presence of communicative interaction signalled the onset of mind for one's self. Self is, thus, a result of the continuing grasp of the perspective of others in relation to one's own.

Following the Meadian tradition, symbolic interactionism has come to view society as consisting of active individuals who interpret reality and organize their actions according to their interpretations (Blumer, 1966). Various social schemes are considered to be operating within these symbolic interpretations. Emphasis is on the social procedures or interactional rules, with which one defines objects in a socially appropriate manner and how one negotiates the constraints of group life (Gallant & Kleiman, 1983). The symbolic interactionist's main concern is to identify these covert symbolic meanings underlying overt patterns of interaction.

While the symbolic interactionism assumes that there are in society, objective, behavioristic interpretations on which basis people operate with their daily life, ethnomethodology insists that the location of social meaning resides in the minds of people. Meaning is equated with an individual's subjective experience, and as John-Steiner and Tatter (1983) noted, a social process is regarded as the process through which the individuals draw meanings from the signs they use. In ethnomethodology, the individual's interpretative process per se is a phenomenon subject to investigation, and the major task of the researcher is to uncover the

unconsciously presumed rules penetrating people's interaction. The ethnomethodologists seek to investigate the taken-for-granted background expectancy set underlying people's conversation (Denzin, 1970; Garfinkel, 1964).

Language socialization

In the light of interpretive paradigm, child socialization is viewed as a process in which a child is exposed to interpretive procedures and acquires symbolic systems that will guide his/her subsequent interaction with others. It is a formative stage of the process wherein both discovering and internalizing processes of interpretive systems occur concurrently. Language socialization, which grasps the child socialization from this interpretive perspective, is now the focus of this inquiry. A brief review of the past approaches to child socialization is given below.

Predicaments in psychological research

No other phenomenon in the social sciences has received as much attention as child socialization. It has long been a focal interest of psychologists. The underlying learning mechanisms, the social connections, and cultural variation of this early formative process of child development have been studied (Hurrelmann, 1988; Munroe, Munroe, & Whiting, 1981). Nevertheless, it is one of the phenomena where definitions are as many as theorists who study the phenomenon. Socialization is often defined as the child's acquisition of the requirements of society (White, 1977). But what is meant by requirements varies from theorist to theorist. From the behaviorist point of view, this requirement is equated with an accumulation of behavior reinforced by external forces; a Freudian interpretation suggests "identification" of the parental roles of the same sex; Bandura's social learning theory focuses on observational modellings of the child's social world.

In addition to the problem of evasive definition, because of the disciplinary and theoretical understanding, the area of child socialization also encounters methodological variations. The personality or attitude test inventories, such as Parental Attitude Research Inventory, have been the main tool for the study of child socialization. They enable the researcher to identify and cluster the parental attitudes in certain categorical dimensions

and measure their relationship with a corresponding battery of child's behavioral repertoires (McGillicuddy-de Lisi, 1982). However, this rather static approach of linear comparison between the parental attitude and child socialization behavior can give no more than a finished account of the socialization process. Without describing how a certain parental attitude is incorporated in the parents' daily interaction with the child and how this interactional experience comes to form a certain behavioral or personality pattern in the child, the inventory tools only function to pair the parents' attitude with its corresponding socialization effect. Such a "product-oriented" descriptive system does not demonstrate the very processual aspect of socialization in which the final socialization effects are formulated in interactional minutes.

Another predicament inherent in the psychological studies of child socialization is its constant failure to mention the influence or significance of the various social institutions, such as school, community, media etc., on the nature and content of child socialization. Socialization process is identified with an individual learning process governed by various psychological mechanisms and principles. It is rarely perceived as a social phenomenon subject to the confines of the socio-cultural context in which the child is situated. Except in a few sociological studies (e.g., Kohn, 1963; Kohn & Schooler, 1983), the inevitable constraints from the external social world in the child socialization process are not a focus of interest.

Language socialization: the contemporary focus

The introduction of an interpretive paradigm of child socialization, namely language socialization, has marked a notable moment in breaking these predicaments of the area. First of all, its emphasis on the communicative interaction has led researchers to recognize the value of communicative context of the child's interaction, and to look directly into the communicative interaction to describe the very process of socialization. The researchers finally come to grips with the very reality of the socialization process in order to investigate more detailed processual aspects of the subject.

The concept of socialization itself is given a new definition. It is viewed as acquiring the interpretive procedures which enable a child to make sense of, or assign meaning to, this environment in order to negotiate everyday activities. The emphasis has

shifted from behavioral learning devoid of socio-cultural implications to acquisition of social understandings that are necessary for a child to function as a competent member in a given society. Furthermore, language or communicative experience emerges as the key medium of this social learning process. Drawing particular attention to the parallel development of language and interpretive procedures, Cicourel (1970), for instance, noted that both features were complementary, so that once the latter was available, the former was also refined in a socially prescribed and sanctioned way. The child's understanding of the symbolic use of language in everyday life is believed as the heart of his/her socialization process.

This relationship between the socialization process and the child's communicative experience is further noted by Speier (1970). He interpreted Cicourel's "sense of social structure" as an acquisition of interactional competence, and put forth a basic framework of communicative approach to problems of socialization. Viewing socialization as the acquisition of interactional competences, he argued that talk and its conversational properties comprised a new set of dimensions in the study of childhood social organization. To him, the study of the child socialization process must include a descriptive interactional analysis of the child's daily communication. His basic stance is that "an investigation of the concrete features of competent interaction is nothing more or less than a study of what children normally and routinely do their everyday activities..." (Speier, 1970, p.189).

The communicative approach to socialization gained significant empirical data in a landmark study done by Corsaro (1974). Following Speier's (1970) suggestions, Corsaro looked into the events of the children's everyday life and isolated patterns of interaction between young children and their socialization agents. The data showed that adults produced a number of clarification request utterances, which were thought to reflect the negotiation process between children and social agents. For instance, when the child says *It's no good....*, the adult urged the child to clarify the meaning of the utterance by producing such utterances as *What is no good?*, *It's no good to do what?* By executing such communicative request, the adult exposed the child to the normative order that there was normally a negotiative process of meaning in conversation, and the specific content clarified through such negotiative process offered the child an opportunity to

learn about certain values as expressed in negotiation.

The actual demonstration of the socio-cultural influences in the mother-child communicative interaction is most comprehensively described in a recent book, *Language Socialization Across Cultures* (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). It contains numerous sociolinguistic data describing the everyday patterns of the child's social interaction, and gives insight both into the main features and acquisitional procedures of interactional competences. This type of data has enabled researchers to discuss the socialization process with concrete data of the interactional patterns involved, making it possible to locate the very source of differences in socio-cultural learning by isolating the responsible interactional patterns of the social agents. Furthermore, the studies clearly indicates that the mother's communicative behavior is largely subject to the general socio-cultural expectations, and that the child's communicative experience is basically a socialization process through which he/she learns the social order.

Language socialization: a problem

The interpretive account of language socialization, however, is not problem-proof. Insufficient attention has been given to the psychosocial facets of language socialization. In order to formulate a certain pattern of communication, the participants should place their partners in a particular social perspective. One cannot organize his/her communicative attempts unless he/she is guided by some specific knowledge on how to perceive the other partner and how the other partner perceives him/her. Mead (1934) noted that the first psychological achievement occurring as a result of the child's communicative experience is the recognition of himself/herself in a social context. When the child recognizes or perceives the other self in relation to himself/herself, he/she enters the basic level of intersubjectivity, and only then, a real sense of communicative interaction begins to occur.⁶

Considering that the child's initial self is characterized by its undifferentiated state, one can argue that the child's recognition of his/her communicative partner or of

⁶ Although Mead pre-dated the contemporary viewpoint, it seems evident that he was correct in alerting us to the social transformation of the child in terms of "motherese."

himself/herself in relation to others is basically connected to the child's self-differentiation process. Another way of putting it is to say that the child's social perception in a communicative context has a lot to do with his/her ability to cognitively differentiate himself/herself from others. Interestingly, the mother's perception of the child's position in a social context is related to the degree to which the mother approves of this self-differentiation process of the child. Moreover, given that the social perception that the mother has about the child influences her communicative pattern, and that the mother's social perception consists of her perception of the child's self-differentiation process, a variety of the mother's communicative patterns have fundamental linkages with the mother's perception of the child's self-differentiation process. Presumably, one can argue that varying forms of socialization effects resulting from the mother's specific communicative patterns are dependent upon the mother's diverse views of the child's self-differentiation process. From the child's perspective, his/her social experiences are dependent upon how the mother views his/her differentiation process and how the mother situates herself in relation to the child. But this rudimentary dimension of communicative interaction between the mother and the child is not adequately recognized in the current studies of language socialization.

Towards a psychosocial approach

While the language socialization researchers have largely neglected the psychosocial aspect of the child's communicative experiences, there is a group of researchers, (e.g., Delia, B. O'Keefe, & D. O'Keefe, 1982; Applegate & Sypher, 1983), who have been concerned with the psychosocial perception of communication. These researchers, called "constructivists," point out the importance of the social perception. They focus on how to view the other interactant as a crucial element in effecting communication. Applegate, Burleson, Burke, Delia and Kline (1985) applied this social perception concept to capture the qualitative distinctions in parental disciplinary strategies. The social perception in question was the mother's view of the child's autonomous functioning, that is, the degree to which the mother recognizes the child as a holder of a distinct psychological perspective. They attempted to plot the mother's communicative strategies in terms of this particular social perception. For example,

instead of dichotomizing disciplinary strategies into "authoritarian" and "democratic" styles, they formulated three parenting strategies: Discouragement of reflection, Implicit encouragement of reflection, and Explicit encourage of reflection. These systems indicate the degree to which the mother leads the child to reflect upon his/her own behaviors.

What is worthy to note is the designation of the mother's perception of the child's autonomous properties as a major determinant of the mother's communicative behavior. It can be seen that how the mother views the psychological functionings of the child determines her communicative strategies: The more the mother is assured of the child's autonomous properties, the more likely she is to encourage the child to reflect upon his/her own behavior. Although it was not the purview of the constructivists, such social perceptions of the mother have a direct relation to her perception of the degree of the child's psychosocial **differentiation**. That the mother considers the child as being an autonomous intentional agent suggests that she holds a firm conviction regarding the child's accomplishment of psychosocial differentiation. If the mother does not assume the independent psychological functioning of a child, an adultmorphic assumption of the child's differentiation will not be made.

The constructivists suggest that the mother's communicative patterns or strategies are subject to her particular view of the psychosocial topography of herself and the child. What the child learns through this communicative experience is also a particular topographical map inherent in the mother's communicative patterns and structures. The resulting interactional competence, a sense of social structure, or interactional interpretive schemes, suggested by interpretive socialization as the very substance of a socialization process, can be seen more productively as being comprised of the child's learning of a particular psychosocial topography. The child learns how to situate himself/herself in a social context.

To emphasize the psychosocial aspect of the mother-child communicative interaction is not to suggest a return to a psychological reduction of language socialization. Rather, it is the premise of this study that the social transaction between mother and child can be best understood by looking at how the social context is analyzed and perceived in the individual mother's and child's psychosocial realm. Even in

this psychosocial realm, the subject, namely, the social context faced by the mother and child, remains strictly social, at least originally, prior to full internalization, in that what is at stake is how to perceive the psychosocial functioning of the other. It is precisely this social nature of the original context that challenges the psychological operations of the mother and child. The basic objective of the present study is to examine the psychological process of this social reality. The goal is to advance our knowledge about how social reality and individual psychological process come to interact.

D. Summary

The main argument addressed in part II is that the mother-child interaction should be viewed as a socio-cultural event subject to all the contextual correlates of the society in which the dyad is situated. Socio-cultural influences are expressed in the mother's communicative patterns, and transmitted to the young member of the community through the child's interaction with the mother. What underlies the mother's communicative socialization process is the mother's perception of the child's self-differentiation, or psychosocial autonomy. Depending on how the mother perceives the psychosocial topography or dynamics between the mother and the child, her communicative patterns vary widely, so do the socialization effects. This psychosocial topography, or how to situate oneself in relation to others, is proposed as the major psychological force underlying the mother's communicative socialization process. It is the very nature of the socialization message transmitted to the child.

The examination of the mother's communicative interactions with the child is the operational quest. This quest is difficult in that the usual methodological conventions must be rendered more robust. The investigation of psychosocial topography in each participating culture and the description of the psychosocial formulations reflected in the mother's communicative patterns are the challenge. Before an actual analysis of communicative data, some basic knowledge regarding how to view communication between mother and child has to be obtained, and whether or not it can be treated like any other form of communication must be determined. Furthermore, a theoretical basis of the overall methodological procedure also needs to be established. These considerations are addressed in Part III.

III. TOWARD A METHOD

A. Communication: Its Nature and Organization

Major theories in communication studies are reviewed in this chapter. The aim is to gain basic knowledge of the nature, property, and organization of human communication in order to sharpen our conceptualization of the mother-child communication. The reviewed approaches are: speech act theory (Austin, 1968), conversational analysis (Levinson, 1983), ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1968), and Goffman's interaction rituals (Goffman, 1981).

Speech act theory

In his well known book, *How To Do Things With Words*, John Austin (1968) pointed to the performative function of speech, and argued that in saying something, one was not only stating a proposition, but also doing something. The utterance, *I do*, in the course of the marriage ceremony, he said, is not a statement describing or reporting that the bride and groom are marrying. It refers to their *doing*, that is, marrying; they are doing marrying by uttering the sentence. His point was that attention should be thus paid to the total speech act in the total speech situation, not to the locutionary content.⁷

This speech acts thesis was further elaborated by John Searle (1970), who paid special attention to performative speech acts. He delved into the subtle conventional performative functions embedded in our speech. He asserted that speech acts were a rule governed intentional behavior which operated on the basis of conventional symbolic systems. For instance, he argued, when a person is asked a question, *Could you close the door?*, the hearer should be able to understand that the sentence is not to ask about the hearer's ability to make the physical movement of closing a door, but is a request to

⁷ *Locutionary* act is one of the three speech acts distinguished by Austin (1968). It is "roughly equivalent to uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference (p. 108). An example would be one's uttering of the sentence, "She holds the door for him." *Illocutionary* act refers to "utterances which have a certain conventional force (p. 108). An example would be: "Could you hold that door, please?" *Perlocutionary* act are "what we bring about or achieve by saying something", such as "Hold that door!" (p. 108).

close the door.

According to Searle, what constitutes a person's understanding of the meaning of speech is such knowledge of implicit performative force behind the speech. Grice (1957) continued with this thesis and proposed that meaning is basically a perlocutionary act. A meaning of speech is assumed to be transmitted when the speech produces some effect in the hearer. Searle nevertheless took the view that even if there occurs no actual effect in the hearer, as long as the hearer recognizes that the speaker is trying to tell something, and knows exactly what it is, the speaker can be said to have been successful in conveying his meaning.

The performative function carried in illocutionary speech acts is derived from our knowledge about the conventional usage of language. The entire conventional symbolic system of the community is necessarily involved in the interpretation of a sentence, although this conventional force is largely evasive at the sentential level of utterances. Searle thus suggested that the semantic context of the sentence alone is not sufficient to figure out the performative meaning of the utterance. A complete understanding of speech requires a consideration of the illocutionary performative force of a sentence based on given conventional systems.

Undoubtly speech act theory is an improvement over the earlier structural analysis approach. However, the speech act approach tends to see context as an epiphenomenon, an addition to the prior intent to communicate. A more parsimonious theoretical stance would suggest that intent and context are -- together -- a part of an irreducible whole.

Given the basic premise of the present study that the mother's communicative patterns are a function of her psychosocial dynamics, speech act theory cannot be accepted as originally presented. Attention should be paid to another perspective which would emphasize the contextual ground as the source of the communicative organization.

Conversational analysis

A major assumption of the speech act theory is that "there is a **specifiable function** that will map utterance units onto speech acts, and that the conversational

sequences are primarily regulated by the drawn performative function of the speech act" (Levinson, 1983, p. 289). This assumption is to be challenged.

Despite the continuing efforts of speech act theorists to determine a definite set of performative functions identifiable in our speech, the classification of performative functions still remains incomplete (Hancher, 1979; Searle, 1983). Moreover, an utterance usually carries more than a single performative function, and the sources for multiple functions often lie outside the utterance in question. The assumption that the conversational sequence is a rule governed phenomenon based on the speech act translated from the utterance is seriously questioned.

As far as the sequential aspect of communication is concerned, the speech act theory alone is not enough to account for the complex "sequencing" constraints in conversation. A more appropriate approach would consider the immensely complex inferential processes that utilize information of many different kinds, as well as the nature of the utterance itself. Consider the following talk.

Mother A: Is Nancy there?

Mother B: They already left.

The sequential organization of this question-answer is based upon B's interpretation of A's question within the context where Nancy, Mother A's daughter, came to B's house to go camping with B's children. There is no proposed illocutionary force of answering. B's answering is organized by her inferential process of the context. This type of analysis would view conversation not as a structural product but as an outcome of the interaction of two or more independent, goal-directed individuals (Rommetveit, 1987). Conversational analysis emphasizes these interactional and inferential aspects of a conversation.

Conversational analysis was originally developed by sociologists (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff).¹ It was formulated as part of the attempt to study the set of techniques utilized by the members of a society in interpreting and acting within their own social

¹ Psychologists are beginning to explore its usefulness (Bain, Yu, & Choi, 1989). Unlike the sociologists who tend to use strictly ethnomethodological approaches, psychologists tend to use both these and quantitative methods.

worlds (Garfinkel, 1967). The main source of a conversational analysis consists of recurrent patterns of sequential talk and the main task of researchers is to discover the systematic properties of the sequential organization of talk. The final goal of the analysis is to understand the procedures and expectations that are actually employed by participants in producing and understanding conversation.

A number of works have been done on speech events such as turn-taking (Sack, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), management of adjacent pairs (Schegloff, 1979) and others. The management, rules, and variables involving different type of conversational sequences have been specified and extensively discussed (Levinson, 1983). The theoretical specifications of conversational structures are in fact impressive and the empirical data are substantial. Nevertheless, it is the stance of the present researcher that an exact methodological replication of the conversational analysis in dealing with data from mother-child communication is insufficiently robust.

The reason is this. One of the basic assumptions of the conversational analysis is that the patterning of adult's conversation is governed by specific interpretative mechanisms. For example, many of the organizational patterns observed in adult's conversation occur because of the speaker's effort to save face in a social context. Goody (1978), for example, noted that,

When a subordinate asks his superior 'Will you greet the chief this morning?' what he means is 'Respectfully, Sir, you ought to greet the chief this morning.' It is wrong for the subordinate to tell his senior what he should do.... Instead he asks him what is ostensibly an information question. The superior may then answer, 'Yes, I shall greet the chief'.....but without having to admit that he has been told to do so by a subordinate. Further, the subordinate is protected from annoyance of his superior by this device, since neither need acknowledge that the subordinate was actually taking the initiative (pp. 32-33).

There is, however, no such established interpretative mechanism in mother-child interaction. It has been said that the major factor influencing the various organizations of the mother-child communication is the mother's perception of the psychosocial autonomy of the child's reality -- particularly its degree of differentiation. One may argue that this social perception of the mother is a kind of interpretative system in that it operates as a governing force of the mother's communication. But unlike the preformatted interpretative system that already exists at a conventional level as a socio-cultural norm, the specific social perception that the mother has towards her child

in an actual communicative context is at least partially contextually generated. For instance, there is no pre-existing interpretative system prescribing how and to what extent the child is psychosocially differentiated from the mother. A mother, once faced with a child as a communicative partner, is set to a certain presumption toward the child's psychosocial autonomy, and this predisposition continues to be confirmed or revised as the communication proceeds. The mother-child communication is characterized by the mother's continuing effort to establish such a presumptive system with the young partner, whereas the adults' conversation is characterized by their efforts to transact within the pre-existing interpretative norm, namely, saving face.

It is a truism that the mother-child interaction is partially organized by the sequential context. Thus, the suggestion of conversational analysts to consider the sequential impact of an utterance on the next utterance and to avoid singling out a pair of turns from its overall context can be readily accepted. But with regard to what it is that constitutes the essence of the sequential context, and how this contextual background operates to govern the communication, the present study proposes a more global perspective. The stance of the present study is that mother-child communication is a process in which both the mother and the child attempt to learn how to place themselves in relation with each other. Their communicative attempts are the reflection of a continuing negotiation process and the organization of the mother's communication represents the specific manner in which the negotiative process about the psychosocial topography is carried out.

Ethnography of speaking: the Hymes connection

Conversational analysts focus on the sequential organization of utterances. Their focus is shifted from the immediate performative functions assumed to be invariably embedded in utterances to the function of the interactional context and the inferential process of the participants, which were of concern to the speech act theorist. The relevant contextual background is thus widened to account for the entire interactional context. But this expanded interactional context, nevertheless, lacks socio-cultural properties. In other words, the conversational analysis fails to represent communication as a socio-cultural event occurring with the socio-cultural context involving people from

a variety of socio-cultural dimensions.

According to Hymes (1968, 1972a), language should be an integral part of the whole world of cultural behavior. A proper study of communication must involve psychology, sociology, and anthropology, and be concerned with the differential role of language in socialization, personality and interaction (Hymes, 1984). Furthermore, "any thoroughgoing linguistic theory is of necessity a theory that makes ethnographic assumptions" (Hymes, 1964, p. 6). The ethnography approach is thus concerned with not only the linguistic system, but also the ethnolinguistic systems encompassing the characteristics of their users and circumstances of use.

This new approach to speech features non-linguistically defined units, such as community, personality, event, or context of situation. The main emphasis is placed on the descriptions of actual behavior in an actual setting. Information about setting or circumstance is not peripheral but becomes an integral part of the analysis. "Community, or personality, or event, or context of situation, replaces the homogeneous code as frame of reference" (Hymes, 1964, p. 23). In this ethnolinguistic approach, the validity of analysis lies in whether or not the members of the speech community accept the analysis as part of their reality.

This ethnolinguistic approach entails the most comprehensive concept of communicative context to date. It finally consummates our effort to conceive of communication as a necessary part of socio-cultural reality. However, its concern with ethnographic properties of the context at hand does not adequately consider the sub-contextual background. For example, Hymes' ethnography of communicative competence called for the need for etic concepts, such as the topics, procedures, and specific questions, and hypotheses of people's speech. But it is not regarded as necessary to describe the interactional dynamics generated during the people's communication and the influences of these contextually-generated dynamics on the participants' organization of talk, but these related contextual properties are what constructs a particular moment of interaction.

What interferes with people's actual interaction is not the sum of the individual situational elements, but the social reality temporarily created by the complex network of the elements. When the contextual properties come to shed influence on the

interaction, it is through this contextually created social reality in which the individual properties participate as basic constituents. This contextual aspect of the situation is more than a perception of the independent constituents. It is a product; a reality of its own property, formulated from the complex interplay of various socio-cultural conditions of the participants. It has been already mentioned that what governs the mother's communicative patterns is this kind of contextually created mother's perception of the child's psychosocial autonomy. Hymes' notion of ethnography of speaking falls short of recognizing this dynamic interplay of the independent properties of the context. Erving Goffman's frame analysis takes this contextual social reality as the pivot of inquiry.

Frame, interaction rituals: the Goffman's connection

In his book, *Forms of Talk* (1981), Goffman addressed his concerns to the underlying forces that formulated our talk into certain sequential organizations. The normative assumption adopted by the earlier conversational analysts (e.g., Schegloff, Sack) purports illocutionary forces of utterances as major determinants. That is, the speaker's need to explicate what he means to get across and the hearer's effort to show the speaker that he agrees with the speaker as to what is heard are assumed to lodge the talk into a specific format.

Goffman's argument is that what counts in an exchange of talk has to do with a rather more practical purpose, namely, confirmation of transmission of message. What a speaker needs to know, according to him, is whether the speaker's message has been received or transmitted, and if so, "whether or not it has been passably understood" (Goffman, 1981, p. 12). All that the hearer would do is to signal to the speaker that he has received the message correctly. According to Goffman, sequential organization is an interactional product of the effort to accomplish this task of assuring message transmission. It is not an interpretive process of decoding intended meaning.

The notion of ritual constraints was suggested by Goffman as one of the conditions facilitating the organization of talk (Goffman, 1967). He said that what became central in a dialogic situation is "presentation of self" (Goffman, 1959). When engaged in a dialogic exchange of talk, the participants are presenting themselves to the

other, and have a basic tendency to have themselves counted as persons of social worth, such as:

In making an assertion about facts, the maker must count on not being considered hopelessly wrongheaded; if a greeting, that contact is wanted; if an excuse, it will be acceptable; if an avowal of feeling and attitude, that these will be credited; if a summons, that it will be deferred to; if a serious offer, that is won't be considered presumptuous or mean" (Goffman, 1981, pp. 16-17).

This social motive, based on the notion of presentation of self, Goffman argued, provides a more plausible account of the organization of talk than the normative assumption of illocutionary force. For instance, he argues that the following talk can be best accounted for by the notion of "ritual constraint."

A: Have you got the time?

B: Yes, it's 5:15.

According to the speech act theory, one would find the "Yes" in B's answer redundant.

"It's 5:15" suffices to show A B's understanding of A's utterance. But Goffman held that

B's "Yes" is a ritual constraint. He analyzed,

B, walking past A, who is in a parked car, wants it known that he, B, will honor the request, yet finds that the time taken to get at his watch removes him a couple of steps from the car and opens up the possibility of his being seen as declining to acknowledge the contact (Goffman, 1981, p. 30)

B may have felt it's vital to let A know that A's request has been in fact immediately ratified, thereby to prevent A from feeling incumbent with his request. These social concerns of B's with A's social vulnerability, Goffman sees, are what underlies B's reply.

In Goffman's view, communicative interaction is analogous to a theatrical stage performance in which the speakers construct a reality for the moment that the performance, that is, communication, is going on. The concept of frame was introduced by Goffman to denote this temporal theatrical boundary of conversation. According to him, a conversational situation is presumed in only so far as it can be framed in a particular context. It is this socially situated or constructed reality which embodies the occurrence of conversation, and governs the specific rules of the conversational organization.

Compared to Hymes' idea of contextuality, which has an obscure grasp of the social dynamics among the contextual elements or properties, Goffman's notions of framed social reality and the ritual constraints bring forth an advanced understanding of the communicative context by designating the relevant boundary of the context to the particular communication and expounding the basic components of the context. Applying these notions, one would get an even closer look at the social reality that governs the mother-child interaction, and also come to be concerned with the specific contextual properties that interfere with their organization of talk.

A problem in a direct import of the frame analysis to the mother-child communication, however, is that there are yet no established ritual constraints between the mother-child that will confine their communication. In a communicative exchange between two fully functioning adults, the basic notion of the ritual constraints is already encoded in their social behavior. When two adult interactants face each other, the constraints are set to operate. Their instant motive, for example, to save face would be recognized by both parties.

Unlike adult communication, the mother-child communication involves a "yet-to-be-sophisticated" partner. The mother's implicit goal is to nurture the socially acceptable conventions. She presumes no such social frameworks in her communication with the child. What becomes significant in this case is not so much the pre-existing ritual constraints, but the perception of the mother about the child's position as a communicative partner. In a way, the mother-child communication is characterized by its effort to formulate a communicative context. The participants are not yet framed in a set of social conventions. If there is any social reality governing their communication, it may be constituted by the efforts of the two to create a full-fledged communicative social reality.

This continuing effort of the mother to formulate a communicative context is central to the mother-child communication. The social reality that comes to frame the mother-child communication consists of the effort of the competent partner, the mother, to manage a communicative exchange with the "yet-to-be-competent" one. The contextual, or ethnographic properties become relevant to the extent that they influence this effort of the mother. The aforementioned psychosocial dynamics

between the mother and the child, that is, how the mother places the child in relation to her and how she poses herself in relation to the child, are a psychological re-presentation of this effort. These psychosocial perceptions are what constitutes the immediate communicative context and governs the organization. A social reality between the mother and child is constructed, one which lends itself to the basic framework of their communication.

Summary

It has been observed that mother-child communication has a distinctive feature of its own, which prohibits a direct application of the premises of the major communication theories. The notable characteristic of the mother-child communication is that there is yet no formatted communicative context that is governed by pre-existing interpretative systems or ritual constraints. Rather mother-child communication is unique in that it is the process which generates and establishes such a communicative context, and that this constructing tendency operates as a governing context. The major ingredient essential to the creation of such a context is the mother's effort to construct a communicative reality with the child.

This peculiar condition of the mother-child communication necessitated a methodological framework that would examine the communicative construction process and categorize the manners in which this process is managed. Grounded Theory is adopted to satisfy these conditions.

B. A Methodological Procedure: Grounded Theory

The discussion in the preceding chapter suggested that communication between the mother and child should be regarded as a negotiative process of how to place oneself in relation to the other. A next step is to determine a general procedure of how to embody this perspective in actual research. In other words, there is a need to discuss how to generate communicative categories that can represent culture-specific ways of perceiving the psychosocial topography between the mother and child. This methodological demand leads to an adoption of Grounded Theory. Grounded theory focuses on the generation of theory from data, rather than on the verification of theory

by data.

Grounded theory was proposed by two sociologists, Glaser and Strauss (1967). Emphasizing their concern with generation rather than verification of theory, Glaser and Strauss endeavored to elevate the status and quality of this qualitative approach to the same level of procedural rigor found in most logico-deductive approaches.

We address ourselves to the equally important enterprise of *how the discovery of theory from data - systematically obtained and analyzed in social research - can be furthered*. We believe that the discovery of theory from data - which we call *grounded theory* is a major task confronting sociology today, for, as we shall try to show, such a theory fits empirical situations, and is understandable to sociologists and layman alike. Most important, it works - provides us with relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations, and appreciations (Glaser et al., 1967, p. 1).

It is of particular importance to note that grounded theory aims to generate theory, one which is presumed to meet all the requirements usually imposed on deductively derived theories: prediction and explanation of behavior, usefulness in theoretical advancement, practical applicability, to name a few. In fact, the formulators believed that these requirements would best be met by a systematic discovery of the theory from the data. They maintained,

Since the categories are discovered by examination of the data, laymen involved in the area to which the theory applies will usually be able to understand it, while sociologists who work in other areas will recognize an understandable theory linked with the data of a given area (Glaser et al., 1967, pp. 3-4).

A distinguishable characteristic of grounded theory, compared with conventional logico-deductive approaches, is the former's emphasis on the systematic procedures whereby the theory is derived from obtained data. It assumes that the adequacy of a theory cannot be evaluated in isolation from the process by which it is generated. Thus, one "canon for judging the usefulness of a theory is how it was generated" (Glaser et al., 1967, p. 5). It is even suggested that generating a theory from data should be interpreted as postulating that theory not only comes from the data, but is systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of research.

The actual methodological procedure of grounded theory is called comparative analysis. It encompasses the use of the following concepts. First, a researcher stands upon conceptual categories that were generated from data.⁹ A category is a theoretical

⁹ As Blackman (1983) notes, not all approaches of grounded theory necessarily attempt to generate conceptual categories, that is, the theoretical abstraction of phenomena. Some may end up with remaining simply descriptive and

abstraction which emerged from data to illustrate the phenomenon at hand. It consists of properties that represent the conceptual aspects of the category. The category and its properties are continually examined and undergo emergent conceptualizations, which involve constant checks with comparative data to synthesize the categories at hand into many levels of conceptual and hypothetical generalization as possible. For example, if the Korean mothers turn out to have a psychosocial perception of the child called A, this concept A will be applied to various groups of mothers with different socio-economic levels. And the variations of A observed in these groups are incorporated in defining the nature of A, thereby enhancing the clarity of the concept.

The comparison of differences and similarities among groups also generates generalized relations among categories. As researchers discover categories and continue working on the discovered categories, they are led to see a relation or relations among these categories and formulate a hypothesis based on these relations. With this initial hypothetical framework, they further examine the data with the explicit purpose or idea of a theory being generated. In the course of this pursuit, the categories are further elaborated and more properties are unraveled. Eventually, the relations among the categories become more explicit and clear. Taking the above example again, the varied forms of the concept A can be put in relation to the original A, and the researcher sets up a relation or identifies patterns among these categories.

Once researchers exhaust all the possible diversity of categories and properties and the full range of their relations, an integrated framework emerges. This framework must take into consideration the fullest range of conceptual levels, and undergo tests of various comparative data. Its use at a more general level can be determined only after a substantive model -- that is, a working hypothesis based on a diverse source of data -- has sufficiently emerged.

All the above processes follow theoretical sampling procedures, wherein researchers collect, code, and analyze data, and then on the basis of initial analysis, decide what to collect next to develop the theoretical idea. The data collection is

(cont'd) impressionistic; others may proceed to formulate hypotheses through systematic analysis of data and verify them. The most advanced stage of grounded theory is set for the generation of categories which requires a wide range of procedures of data comparison to enhance the level of generality of the categories emerged.

controlled by the emerging theory, and the subsequently collected data are to substantiate the claims which emerged previously. At the very outset of the data collection, when theories do not yet emerge, a general perspective or a general problem area declared serves as a guiding outline.

This general perspective is fundamentally different from a pre-determined theoretical framework. The former is at best a declaration of the area, and not yet a formulation of a specific conceptual framework of the concerned problem. The present study's concern with the mother's perception of the child's psychosocial autonomy can be such a declaration of a general problem area. It defines the general boundary of what to look at, but does not entail specific hypotheses of the psychosocial patterns, relations, or categories.

Instead of starting with such pre-formatted hypotheses, both the grounded theory and the present study aim to generate such categories and properties. Efforts will be made to go through a step-by-step procedure to clarify emerging theoretical categories and to determine the corresponding communicative patterns. Analysis at each step must function to further elaborate the idea emerged from the previous stage and allow a place for new data to be assimilated. The goal of the present research will be reached when initial hypotheses that can conceptualize the cultural differences in the mother's perception of the child's psychosocial reality with responsible communicative correspondences emerge. This emerging framework should be able to account for the differentiated socialization effects embedded in the categories.

C. Summary

The conceptual framework evolved thus far designates the child socialization as a sociogenetic process of the child's psychosocial development. And it has been seen that this conceptual grasp can be best illustrated by grounded theory, an attempt that will identify the conceptual psychosocial categories underlying the child's communicative interactions with the mother. These conceptual and methodological foundations have paved a road to the operationalization of the understandings in actual data. The following discussions describe how the understandings of the cultural differences in the child's psychosocial developments in Korea and Canada have emerged through the generative

process.

IV. STUDY 1: SEARCH FOR A THEME

One of the requirements of theoretical sampling is to have a general perspective of the subject at the outset of the research. For the present study, the concept of psychosocial topography has already been identified as the general problem area. The purpose of study 1, a pilot study, was to gain initial knowledge of what aspect of the mother-child communication should be analyzed in order to represent the mother's psychosocial topography. This objective necessitated a collection of actual communicative data from the mother-child interaction. The following is a description of the theme search process, with actual collected communicative data.

A. Participants and Data Collection

The major participants were a five year old boy (L), and his mother (M), living in Edmonton. Like other typical Canadian immigrant families of the first generation, two cultural backgrounds coexisted in the family. The child was born in Tanzania, but grew up in Canada. Having been in Canada for about 5 years, he refused to speak his African tongue, and was being socialized mainly in English. The mother was born and spent her early childhood in Tanzania. But all of her education was received in Canada and her culturalization process has gone so far as to choose English as the major medium of family interaction. The father was also from Tanzania, pursuing a Ph.D degree at the University of Alberta.

The data collection consisted of video-tapings of the mother and child interacting in their home environment over six sessions. The tapings occurred after L's coming home from kindergarten, during which time the mother noted that the most intensive interaction would take place. The last two sessions included free-time interactions during day time on the weekend. Each session lasted for 30 minutes.

As the prime concern was to get the most natural interactional data possible, no efforts were made to restrict or to shape the interaction. The mother and child were not instructed to behave in any particular way; they were left to spontaneously engage in an interaction. No signals were given to them to act for the camera. The taping slipped into the scene as naturally as possible, eventually becoming an expected part of each observational session. The video-taped communication was transcribed and produced

the basic data.

B. Search for a Theme

In order for a communication to take place, there is one minimum condition to be met. It is the presence of a communicative attempt initiated by one of the participants. The actual response on the part of the hearer is not essential in declaring an occurrence of communication. Even if the hearer does not respond to the speaker's attempt, as long as there is an attempt from the speaker's part, there can be a communication, albeit a failed one. From the speaker's point of view, a failed communication is an obvious instance of a communicative event through which he/she learns that there was no response from the hearer. Since the present study is based on an assumption that there is an occurrence of some form of communicative exchange between the mother and the child, there is no need to be concerned with this minimum condition of communication. It is presumed to be already satisfied.

Focus is instead placed on the responding feature of communication: how and whether or not the mother responds to the child. How the mother deals with the child's communicative attempt is the key variable responsible for varied organizations and qualities of the mother's communication. If the mother does not produce any response to the child's communicative attempt, the communication will immediately call for cancellation. Responsive attitude, in contrast, will lead to a collaborative construction of communication. A wide range of impact is expected on the child's socialization process, depending on how the mother responds to the child's utterances.

What then, are the theoretical properties of the mother's response? What is the psychological meaning of the mother's being responsive? Let us begin with the meaning of response.

Mother's response

Etymological definition of *respond* is to promise a reply, answer in return. One can respond only in return: In order to respond, there should be an initial action to be reacted to. Response is a behavior of second order which is triggered by a prior event. Two implications follow immediately. One is that a response requires a social context in

order to occur, which involves at least two separate parties. Although there may exist self-answering or self-reacting, in a normal sense, a response is presumed to be an event occurring in return to a prior event by another separate entity.¹⁰ Secondly, an event can be called a response insofar as it is relevant to the prior event. Relevance does not imply complement. Two events can be of opposite nature of any sort. But they have to be somehow related to one another in order to call the second order event a response.

Besides these general features of response, the mother's response entails some other characteristics as follows. First, the essential effect of the mother's responsive behavior is its provision of an opportunity for the child to experience a connectedness of his/her behavior to the environment. When the child's behavior brings about some effects in the environment, he/she feels the belonging of himself/herself to the world. When the effects have taken place in relation to another human being, the child comes to recognize a very primitive level of social relationship. The mother's responsive behavior functions like a **social sounding board** which echoes the child's initially undifferentiated behavioral attempt back to the child, and thereby allows the child to recognize his/her social efficacy in the environment and to experience the relatedness to the environment.

Secondly, in order for the child to feel related to the mother, the mother first places herself in relation to the child. In other words, her response should be what is relevant to the child's current need, state, or behavior. All the concepts concerning the responsive attitude imply this relevance principle in one way or another. For example, the mother's responsive attitude is often identified as "child-centred" communication (Hess & Shipman, 1967). All that characterizes a child-centred communication is the mother's respect to the child's individually unique needs, which is a communicative form realizing the relevance principle.

Thirdly, an imitative echoing of the child's prior attempt can be hardly called a response. The mother may borrow the linguistic form of the child's prior utterance to take her turn. But if this imitation is not substantiated with the mother's progressive attitude to continue the communication, it results in a cancellation of the child's initiative

¹⁰ In a normal sense, the separate entity needs not to be a person; it can be an inanimate object. But in this research, it is assumed to be a person.

attempt, instead of a continuation of the exchange. Thus, in addition to the relevance principle, a mother's response must entail suggestiveness. There should be a constructive element added by the mother's turn and the child should be shown a further idea in regard to the event he was concerned with.

Given that the mother's response is characterized by the child's relatedness feeling, relevance and suggestiveness principles, what is the communicative effect that will be caused by these characteristics? What is the basic function of these specific properties of the mother's response in a communicative context? The theme search effort continued with these questions, and the following is a description of how the questions were probed and resolved through actual examinations of data.

Thematic progress

In order to identify the communicative function or functions of the three features of the mother's response, the research reviewed the whole body of collected data. A focus was placed on identifying the mother's utterances that featured the three properties of the mother's response, and examining their relationship to the child's utterances anterior and posterior to the mother's utterance. A critical function of the mother's response unraveled through this examination can be best grasped by the concept of "thematic progress." The mother's responses that featured the three properties were observed as having resulted in reflecting of progress in the development of the interactional theme or topic of the child's prior utterance. On the other hand, the mother's utterances that did not contain any of the three response properties tended to cause a thematic stalemate, and the communication did not thematically develop over the turns of the mother and the child.

The following talk exemplifies a responsive utterance of the mother resulting in thematic progress.

L:(a) I don't like cheese.

M:(b) That's o.k....you don't have to eat it then.

The mother's utterance (b) results in thematic progress in relation to the child's preceding utterance (a), in that the child's utterance is thematically responded to by the mother. The child's topic that he does not like cheese receives a kind of recognition from the mother that it is o.k. even if he does not like cheese. Responded to by the mother's utterance (a), the child comes to know what the mother thinks about the theme he addressed previously. This thematic progress made over the transactional exchanges of (a) and (b) is a function of the mother's responsive utterance, (b).

Suppose the child's utterance (a) is responded thusly:

L: (a) I don't like cheese.

M: (c) (in monologue) Oh I don't know where I put my purse.

The mother is aware of the child talking to her. Nevertheless, she is so preoccupied with her misplaced purse that she does not produce an utterance related to the child's prior utterance. In this case, the child's prior utterance concerning his dislike of cheese is disregarded by the mother, and the child does not know what the mother's opinion about his utterance is. The child's utterance (a) receives no thematic progress by the mother's utterance, (c). This non-functioning utterance of the mother cannot be called a response to the child's prior utterance, in a real sense. It just happens to be placed sequentially behind the child's utterance, with the relevance principle not being observed.

A thematically relevant utterance, however, does not necessarily refer to a semantic extension. A semantic extension results in thematic progress, but all the thematically progressive utterances are not necessarily a semantic extension of the child's utterance. Consider the following example.

L:(a) I'll eat it later.

M:(b) O.K.

The mother's utterance (b) is certainly not a semantic extension of (a). But (b)

acknowledges what the child said, and functions to express minimally what the mother thinks about the topic carried in the child's utterance (a). From the child's perspective, his idea (a) is at least recognized by the mother, and the mother's recognition is expressed, even though minimally, but explicitly in the mother's utterance (b). The mother's utterance (b) meets the relevance condition, and the child experiences a relatedness of his attempt to the partner.

It is this, the child's recognition of the interactive bond, not the specific linguistic formula that constitutes the essence of the concept of thematic progress. When thematic progress results, the child comes to realize the interactive nature of his/her encounter with the mother. The child comes to experience a primitive form of being social when his/her utterance is received responsively. Putting this in another way, thematic progress is a necessary communicative effect accompanying a responsive social interaction between the mother and child. It covaries with the mother's responsive attitude.

Given that the mother's responsive attitude is the most phenomenal and critical feature of the mother's communicative behavior, it is natural to take the notion of thematic progress, the main communicative effect of a mother's responsive attitude, as the point of departure. The thematic progress is considered the communicative identification of the mother's responsive attitude, which is in turn viewed as the key conceptual framework of our concern with the mother's perception of the psychosocial topography. In other words, it is assumed the mother's concept of psychosocial topography between the mother and the child has an isomorphic relation to her management of thematic progress of her utterance.

To begin with, all responses were presumed to be located along the continuum of communicative thematic progress, with positive and negative signs at both ends, which respectively implied facilitation and deterrence of a communicative progress.¹¹ A further elaboration of the progress continuum was made by reviewing the whole corpus of data. Let us now turn to 3 progress categories generated thus far in this study.

¹¹ From now on, any communicative progress is taken to refer to thematic progress.

Thematic progress categories

Negative progress (NP)

Negative progress, NP, refers to a case where no progress is made by the mother's utterance. The mother's no response, or irrelevant response to the child's preceding utterance results in NP. Some examples are:

L: What is this thing, mom?

M: *(no response)*.

L: I like doing this (rocking chair, said to the mother).

M: *What is this?* (talking to herself)

The mother's utterances in the above cases result in a breakdown in the communicative progress, and the whole communication process is brought to a temporary halt. The child's communicative initiatives stay confined within the child's reality, and fail to be socially expressed, because the mother does not create a shared reality by appropriately reacting to the attempts made.

Negative progress (NP) utterances, however, can harbor potential resulting in progress. Often, when a child discovers his/her communicative attempt is not successfully reacted to by the mother, he/she tends to prompt the mother for a proper response to his/her utterance. When one focuses on the consequence only, the mother's NP utterance can be also said to have resulted in some kind of progress in the communication, because after all the child's urging utterance is induced by the mother's NP utterance. In this research, such potential progress is not taken into consideration. As shown in the earlier sample talk, an utterance is regarded as NP utterance if it does not produce a response to the immediately preceding utterance, and the prior utterance does not get any thematic progress developed in the immediately following utterance. This category was the easiest to identify.

Neutral progress (NuP)

When a child's utterance is responded to by a mother's negative progress (NP) utterance, the child's utterance is repressed back to the child's own reality, and not recognized in the social context. In other words, the child's communicative attempt is not registered in the social reality. But when the child's utterance is responded to by the mother's neutral progress (NuP) utterance, at least the social register part is allowed; the mother makes a minimum sign of her recognition of the occurrence of the child's attempt. But this minimum sign of notice is all that is intended by the mother's NuP utterance. There is no insertion of the mother's idea to the topic introduced by the child's utterance. Although the communication manages to avoid a complete cancellation, its progress is put on hold, and no actual thematic progress is made.

In the case of negative progress (NP) utterance, the disruption of thematic progress is caused by the mother's complete ignoring of the child's prior attempt. In the case of NuP utterance, the continuation of communication is impeded by the mother's attempt to make the thematic move thrust by the child stay where it starts. Consider the following conversation.

L: Museum.

M: *Museum?*

The child points to a picture in a book and says to the mother, *it is a museum*. He initiates a communicative attempt centred on his recognition of the museum in the book. The mother's utterance responds to this communicative intention of the child's attempt, but the response consists of the effort only to recognize the occurrence of the child's communicative attempt. The child's attempt is not even fully approved of by the mother at this point. She is trying to confirm the presence of such an attempt with the child. Let us look at other examples of NuP utterances.

L: This is an apple.

M: *Is it?*

L: I didn't like it.

M: *You didn't?*

One common characteristic of these neutral progress (NuP) utterances of the mother is that they do not accept the child's attempt as a legitimate turn of the child's expression of his/her ideas. The child's communicative attempts are not approved of by the mother as a social attempt deserving appropriate responses from the mother. The mother shows a minimal sign that she heard phonological formulations of some sort, but does not appear to acknowledge them as a communicative attempt directed to her in expectation of responding. The communicative flow is barely maintained, but thematic progress is not observed. This neutral progress category is the most difficult to identify.

Positive progress (PP)

PP is an utterance which acknowledges the social nature of the communicative attempt made by the child, by appropriately responding to it. In the case of negative progress (NP) the social nature of the child's utterance is completely denied by the mother's ignoring of its occurrence. Neutral progress (NuP) utterances recognize the thrust of the child's attempt in the realm of social reality, but do not fully accept the authority of the child as the very source of such a social attempt. PP utterances do recognize the child as the legitimate source of his/her communicative attempt and approve of the social nature of such an attempt by emitting the appropriate response. The core of the appropriateness consists of a kind of contingent relevance and suggestiveness. A PP utterance is thematically related to the prior utterance and leads to topic progress.

The progress does not necessarily have to be complementary in nature. Presentation of a conflicting idea also comprises a form of progress from a thematic point of view. Utterances to argue, protest, refuse, or negate as well as those to elaborate, explain, support or encourage qualify as positive progress (PP) utterances.

The ultimate criterion of PP utterance is that as long as the mother's utterance acknowledges the child's preceding utterance, and appropriately responds to it, it is regarded as a PP utterance. A PP utterance can be as simple as the following.

L: Do you know her name?

M: *Mrs. Kesch.*

An elaborative positive progress, PP, is:

M: What did you do in gym?

L: We get the balls,.....and.....and I don't know what the rest is.

M: *Did you have to throw the balls?*

Prohibitive, but thematically progressive utterance can be:

L: (approaching to the equipment).

M: *L! (to stop him).*

L: (leaking plate)

M: *Don't do that!*

These PP categories were fairly easy to identify.

C. Summary

Study 1 attempted to determine the basic feature of the mother-child communication that can be used to conceptualize the notion of psychosocial topography. The search started with the focus on the responsive aspect of the mother's

communication. Three basic properties of the mother's response were identified. A further investigation revealed that those properties resulted in thematic progress of the child's utterances.

Thematic progress, which is the main communicative effect of the mother's responsive utterance, is concerned with whether or not, or to what extent the thematic thrust made by the child is incorporated into the mother's following utterance. Its concern with the communicative development over the turns of the mother's and the child's utterances is seen as capable of revealing the psychosocial dynamics between the dyads. This, of course, is the main thesis of the present research.

With sufficient confidence in this initial communicative framework, the researcher proceeded to collect the cross-cultural data and attempted to apply the thematic progress categories to gain the initial understanding of the cultural differences in the mother's notion of psychosocial topography. From this analysis, further efforts were made to theorize on the emerging culture-specific patterns of the mother's psychosocial topography. These efforts consisted of further determination of communicative patterns that would reveal the psychosocial difference in the mothers. Study 2 describes this process of elaboration and differentiation of the theme.

V. STUDY 2: ELABORATION OF THEME

A. Participants

General description

There were four middle class mother and child dyads: two from Seoul, Korea, and two from Edmonton, Canada. The children were all 4 year old boys.¹² The socio-cultural conditions that were taken into consideration in selecting the participants are listed below along with the descriptions of the participants in each conditional category.

The mothers' age

Table 1
The Ages of the Mothers

Korean			Canadian		
Woodin ¹	Gisuk	G.M. ²	David	Charles	G.M.
34	34	34	33	32	33

¹ The mothers are identified by the children's pseudonyms.

² Group Means.

In both countries, the females' mean age at their first marriage is between 24 and 25.¹³ Considering this national mean, the age of the mothers who would have a four year old child would be around 30 in both countries. The participating mothers were thus slightly older than their national means.

Schooling

Table 2
The Schooling Years of the Mothers

¹² Detailed descriptions follow.

¹³ Hereafter, the Korean statistics are based on the 1987 National Survey, Economic Planning Board. The Canadian data is drawn from Canada Year Book, 1988.

Korean			Canadian		
Woojin 12	Gisuk 16	G.M. 14	David 12	Charles 15	G.M. 14

The average number of years of schooling attained by Korean women aged between 20 and 29 is 9.28. A slightly higher figure is expected in the urban areas, but the national average is limited to grade 9 in secondary school.

The Canadian source reveals a similar figure. The average schooling attained by women aged between 25 and 34 falls between grades 9 and 13. The participating mothers of both groups had higher educational levels than the other average women of their age in the respective country. But there was no notable group difference among the participating mothers and each group managed to maintain the same proportion of educational levels of the mothers: one university graduate and one high school graduate.

Annual income

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Table 3
The Annual Income of the Families

Korean			Canadian		
Woojin 700,000W	Gisuk 750,000W	N.M. ¹ 500,000W	David \$35,000	Charles \$40,000	N.M. \$30,064

¹ National means.

Given that the Korean national average annual income falls around 500,000 Won, the participating Korean families were above the the national mean.¹⁵ The participating Canadian families also surpassed their national average of \$ 30,064.¹⁶

Mothers' employment

¹⁴ Except for D's mother, who had a part-time job, the family income basically refers to the fathers' income.

¹⁵ 1 CND \$ = approx. 570 Won

¹⁶ Since the median points were not available with the Korean group, to be consistent, the Canadian statistics were also based on the average figures. Source: 1986 Corpus Almanac & Canadian Source Book vol.1

Table 4
Employment Status of the Mothers

Korean		Canadian	
Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles
Not employed	Not employed	part-time	Not employed

In Korea, the probability for women of the participating mothers' age to be employed outside of their home is 21.3 %, whereas it is 60.4 % in Canada.¹⁷ Representing this national trend in each country, the participating Korean mothers were all housewives. Charles' mother had her own career before the children were born. At the time of the participation, she remained a housewife, although she was planning to have a job outside the home once the children are grown up. David's mother had a part-time job, working outside the home for three days a week.

Number of children

Table 5
The Number of Children in Each Family

Korean			Canadian		
Woojin	Gisuk	G.M.	David	Charles	G.M.
2	2	2	2	2	2

In Korea, the number of children in a family whose mothers are aged between 30 and 34 is 2.02 - 2.27. This is when the parents' schooling years are over 9. The two-children-family is a result of a Family Planning measure observed by most of the Koreans.

In Canada, at the national level, in 1986, the size of the family was recorded as 3.1 persons per family. In Alberta, the figure is slightly higher than the national level,

¹⁷ Source: Woman and the Canadian Labor Force, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The Canadian data represent the situation in early 1980. An increased percentage is expected in current days.

being 3.2 per family. Considering that the traditional husband-wife families are still counted in the majority, 81.6 %, the average number of children per family in Canada is over 1.

The participating Canadian families had more children than the national average, there being 2 children in each family. Both groups were matched in the number of children in the family, and except for Charles, the remaining three participating children were all the first children in the family.

Children's linguistic ability

Brown (1974) noted that the mean length of utterance (MLU) was an excellent index of the child's grammatical development. According to him, "almost every new kind of knowledge increases length" (Brown, 1974, p. 53). So, MLU was taken to check the basic linguistic ability of the participating children. Brown's (1974) rules were adopted as a major criterion for calculation of MLU.

- [1] Only fully transcribed utterances are used.
- [2] Include all exact utterance repetitions (in the present study, the repeated words are counted only once).¹⁸
- [3] Do not count such fillers as *mm*, or *oh*, but do count *no*, *yeah*, *hi*.
- [4] All compound words, proper names, ritualized reduplications count as single words.
- [5] Count as one morphemes all irregular parts of the verb.
- [6] Count as one morpheme all diminutives (e.g., *doggie*, *mommi*).
- [7] Count as separate morphemes all auxiliaries (e.g., *will*, *should*, *must...etc.*). (In Korean cases, the verbs were analyzed into verb root, and the tense suffixes, and they all counted as separate morphemes).¹⁹

¹⁸ The parentheses contain the modifications made for the specific needs of the present research.

¹⁹ $\text{갔었다} = 2 \text{ morphemes.}$

Children's utterances were randomly sampled, and submitted to MLU calculation procedure. There were no significant group differences.

Table 6
The Children's MLU

	Korean		Canadian		
T.N.R. ¹	Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles	Z score
MLU	372	597	501	620	
	4.5	5.5	4.3	4.3	1.4

¹ Total number of utterances reviewed.

Individual descriptions

Korean family: Woojin

General profile of the family

Woojin's family was introduced to me through a kindergarten where Woojin's sister was attending. Upon my request, the director of the kindergarten contacted the eligible candidates.²⁰ Woojin's mother showed an interest and was introduced to the researcher, who informed her of more details of the research. As she consented to all the conditions involved,²¹ she was accepted.

Woojin's family consisted of the parents, an older sister and Woojin. The father ran a wholesale chicken business. Although two employees assisted him with deliveries, occasionally the mother and the father made deliveries by themselves. The business earned them a moderately comfortable standard of living. Their estimated monthly income was over the national average.

The family owned a private house with 3 bedrooms. It was a typical Korean house which did not include the kitchen and bathroom inside the house. During winter,

²⁰ In getting the Korean participants, there was always a mediator who first contacted candidate families to inquire about their interest in the research. Korean people tend to say yes even when the request is not quite agreeable. The indirect communication system was adopted to avoid any unwilling participation caused by this cultural tendency.

²¹ See Appendix 2.

general washing and laundry were done in the kitchen area, which always had a source of heat and hot water. While the kitchen was the centre for house chores such as washing and cooking, the parents' room served the multipurpose of sleeping, receiving guests, or the child's playing. Such functional undifferentiation of the house is typical of most Korean houses like Woojin's.

The house was located in the east side of the city of Seoul, Myun-Mok-Dong. The area was populated with middle to lower middle class households. It was the area easily recognized by the Seoul citizens as one of the typical residential areas of "ordinary" people. The houses were built with no open space in between, and the physical proximity between the houses allowed the neighbors to become psychologically akin to each other as a big family. The children in the neighborhood visit each other's houses at any time as if they were their own, and the adults in the neighborhood know one another very well. This living arrangement encouraged frequent visitations of the neighborhood children and the mothers, without prior notice.

The child

Woojin is 4 years and 4 months old, and lives with his 6 year old sister and parents in Seoul, where he was born. He stays home, and is going to attend a kindergarten the following year.

As a daily routine, he gets up at 9 or 10 o'clock. He doesn't have any imposed time for getting up. His mother and sister usually join him for breakfast. As in any other Korean family, the father goes out to work early in the morning, leaving the the mother to be a the major caregiver throughout the day. Woojin doesn't require constant care from the mother. He spends most of the time watching TV or playing either by himself or with his friends. The mother's main responsibility is to ensure that he is physically and psychologically safe and stable. Woojin's mother has one "quality-time" activity sharing with Woojin, a bead-string game, which the mother introduces to improve his hand coordination.

Woojin does not have a fixed time for lunch. It usually comes after the mother delivers the chickens at 2 o'clock. Assuming he will be fed when the mother comes back home, he doesn't have a specific concept such as a lunch hour. The mother does

not feel any pressure to keep a fixed lunch schedule. The children are assumed by the mother to be well taken care of according to the mother's schedule. It is after all the mother who is in charge of and most concerned with the child care. Woojin's afternoon activity is no different from that in the morning. In summer time, he goes out to play with his friends in the neighborhood, or the friends are brought into the house. It is very common to have one or two friends with him.

In the evening, the whole family gets together and has supper around 8 o'clock. The evening hours are spent watching TV or playing a family game. Since all of the evening activities occur in the parents' room, and the children sleep in the same room, the children spend all of the evening with the parents and go to bed when the parents do. The children's activities are synchronized with the parents', with no clear distinction between the parents and the children in sharing the space and activity. The family has a separate room for the children, but during the winter, to save the heating cost, the mother brings the children to the parents' room and closes the children's room. It is culturally permissible for the parents to allow the children to sleep with them. The children's status as "care-receivers" endows them with the right to intervene in the parents' private space. As caregivers, the parents readily endure any inconveniences created by the children's presence.

The mother

The mother is 34 years old, and born in Kyung-Sang province, south of Seoul. Her family was rural middle class which strictly adhered to Confucian traditions, of which the province had been traditionally a mecca. This particular cultural atmosphere of her early childhood has left significant impacts on her life. Her education was limited to high school, because her parents did not see any need of a college education for a girl. Her conception of human relationships was confined to the traditional teaching. The wife's submissive position to the husband, according to her understanding, is justifiable, because the peace in the family can be secured in that way, and the peaceful family life is believed to be more important than an assertion of her personal individual right.

Her role as a mother is also perceived within the traditional framework. She appeared almost obsessed with her role as a major caregiver for the children. Her

concerns with the children's education were, for instance, centred upon thinking what she can do for the children's best future. Such concerns had led her to be equipped with valuable information about kindergartens in the neighborhood, for which the other mothers often visited her. Her fervent effort to provide the best educational environment for the children does not allow her to freely pass the information to just any mother. She shared the information with only those who were personally close to her. The approach was thought to prevent the favorable kindergartens from becoming too crowded.

Besides, she had a belief that the children would mirror her behavior and speech. So she took special care with her own behavior, trying to avoid having quarrels with her husband when the children were present. When the children misbehaved, she felt the need for sharing the responsibility, and looked towards herself before scolding the children. This implicit theory of modelling was partly supported by the director of the kindergarten. The director emphasized the role of the mothers in educating the children and kept on telling the mothers to be aware of their own behavior and speech. Woojin's mother found that the advice was agreeable and tried to live up to this educational premise.

On the whole, she was a very typical Korean mother, influenced by all the cultural mores, such as the women's submissive human relationship, or the educational fever in Korea, which are shared by many other Korean mothers and housewives. Her overwhelming awareness of her role as a sole provider or caregiver for the children's welfare leaves no doubt in her qualification as one of the most typical Korean mothers.

Korean family: Gisuk

General profile of the family

Gisuk's mother was known to the researcher through the mother's friend in a Catholic church, who also knew the researcher and the project. This friend initially contacted the mother regarding her interest in the research. As the mother was willing to participate, the researcher was introduced to the mother and informed her of more details. The reason the mother decided to participate in the research was that she could

take a great pleasure and pride in helping with a scholarly project. It was thought that the Korean cultural propensity for honoring scholars and scholaric efforts facilitated her agreement to the participation request.

The family can be portrayed as one of the typical middle-class nuclear families. The father had a college education, and worked as a construction manager. His monthly income was above the national average. The family owned an apartment with 3 bedrooms located in a hillside of a mountain north-east of the city, Se-Kum-Jung. The area is well known for its contrasting two classes of residents. The upper part of the hill is populated by the wealthy, whereas the less fortunate live at the foot of the hill. Gisuk's family was located in the middle between the two ends, being socio-economically the middle as well.

The apartment was furnished with modern facilities such as a central heating system. In Woojin's house the parents' room served as a multi-purpose room for playing, eating, and sleeping, but Gisuk's house was more functionally differentiated. There were separate rooms for eating, sleeping, receiving guests, and washing. The children slept in their own room, and the parents' room was reserved only for the parents. Most of the family activities occurred in the living room.

However, Gisuk's residence in the apartment was no different from Woojin's life in a private house in its effect on Gisuk's formation of social circle. Those children living in the units close to Gisuk's were all Gisuk's friends, and visited Gisuk's unit at almost any time. The friends were often called by Gisuk's mother to provide company for Gisuk. The friends' mothers also know and freely visit one another.

The child

Gisuk was a boy born in January, 1984, in Seoul. He had a sister, who was 2 years older. Like Woojin, Gisuk wasn't attending any kindergarten, but the mother had plans to send him to an art school for young children the coming March.

He was very much like Woojin in his personality: cheerful but shy with strangers. When I went to his house to meet the mother and him for the first time, he came to the door to greet me, but tended to retire to his room afterwards. He answered politely and competently when asked a question, but didn't show many communicative initiations on

his part.

As his daily routine, he gets up around 8 o'clock and has breakfast with the mother and the sister. The father goes to work early in the morning and misses the breakfast with the family. After breakfast, the sister goes to the kindergarten, and Gisuk is left alone to spend his morning watching the children's programs on TV. When not watching TV, he plays with his chum, Jaeho, who lives next door.

When the sister returns from the kindergarten, the mother, Gisuk, and the sister get together for lunch. For the lunch menu, sandwiches are often served, instead of cooked rice and side orders, which are typical of every Korean meal. After lunch, the sister has to spend some time practicing her piano lesson, so Gisuk plays with his friends again. When the sister is available, she is the preferred playmate.

In the evening the father is major company for Gisuk. They play a lot of physical games, such as wrestling. While the father spends time with the children, the mother is freed from her day-long caregiver role and finds time to do other housework. After the playing and watching TV, Gisuk joins the whole family to have supper. The rest of the evening hours are spent freely playing with the family. Gisuk has a room shared with his sister, and sleeps in that room with the sister.

The mother

Gisuk's mother was a full time housewife aged 33. She was born, raised, and educated in Seoul. Her family was an upper middle class family residing in Hyo-Ja-Dong, an affluent residential area in Seoul, which was previously inhabited by high government officials and aristocratic members of the palace. Unlike the "nouveau-riche" who are living in other parts of the city, those in Hyo-Ja-Dong are often distinguished by their relatively strong attachment to the cultural values entertained and preserved by the aristocratic class of the last Yi dynasty. Gisuk's grandmother was no exception. She educated her daughters according to Confucian teaching. The emphasis of Gisuk's mother on some of the "antiquated" ideas is a result of such her own upbringing.

Gisuk's mother once said she did not feel any conflict in devoting herself as a full-time housewife at the expense of her career pursuit. She was fully convinced of the importance of her role and position as a home maker for the welfare of the family. The

traditional upbringing had culminated in her awareness of her role as the most important educator for the children. Believing that the children would reflect her behavior, Gisuk's mother took extra care with her behavior and speech. She was especially concerned with the use of deferential forms of speech, and made a special effort to speak in polite forms to the husband so that Gisuk and the sister would model this general speech pattern.²² In fact, Gisuk and his sister were observed using polite forms of speech whenever it was directed to adults, and the mother was observed taking a constant notice of the children's failure with this speech manner.

Her concern with the children's education goes beyond speech training at home. Twice a week, Gisuk is taken to a private kindergarten lesson by the mother. Unlike other similar programs, the program admits only a small number of children and requires the mothers' participation as an essential part of the class lesson. Not only is Gisuk's mother an active participant during the class, she also makes a point of reviewing the material with Gisuk at home after the class. Besides, she makes a special effort to provide integrated social experiences for the children. For instance, the mother placed Gisuk's elder sister in a public school, in spite of the fact that there is one well-known private school just next to her home. Her intention was to expose the child to every aspect of the society and to help her have an integrated view of the society. Her deep concern with the children's development made her brave people's possibly degrading perception of her socio-economic status.

Like Woojin's mother, Gisuk's mother was a product of the Korean society, which emphasizes the role of mother as the most significant caregiver to the child. Her own upbringing and the overall cultural tendency of the Korean society are the key factors to her definition of the role of mother.

Canadian family: David

General profile of the family

²² Among young couples in Korea, it becomes more or less acceptable for the wife not to use the high level of honorifics to the husband. It is a kind of sociolinguistic trend, one which is often decried by the older generation.

The mother responded to an advertisement placed in a local newspaper for participants. She was informed of the detailed conditions to be met, and as she fitted into most of the descriptive categories²³ of the mother participant, and once she consented to all of the recording conditions, she was accepted.

David's family consisted of his older, 6 year old brother, and his parents. The father, an office manager, was born in England and moved to Canada when he was 12 years old. His English background gave him a strict manner of child discipline. For example, he has little patience with the children's wild behavior in the house, such as shouting, jumping, or screaming. The mother compensates against this belief of her husband's by allowing the children to be "wild" while the father is not home.

The family lived in a private house located in the north-east of the town, Norwood. Unlike the neighborhood in Korea, the houses were separated with a certain amount of space in between, and there were not many interactions between the neighbors observed from the street. David had a close friend, Jane, who was not from his neighborhood. Jane was a daughter of a friend of David's mother, and whenever she visited David, the mothers had to make an appointment, and Jane's mother drove her to David's house. There was no such free-flow of friends as in Woojin and Gisuk's neighborhoods.

David's house had 2 bedrooms: one for the parents and one for the children, and the children were given separate beds. Although they were allowed to come to the parents' room in the morning to play with the parents while they were in bed, the children were kept in their separate bedroom for sleeping. For common activities such as eating or watching TV, they use the common areas designated for such purposes, that is, the kitchen and living areas. In contrast with Woojin's case where the parents' room served for the child's daily activities such as playing or drawing, David used the kitchen table, one of the common areas, for such purposes. In any case, the parents' room was not open for daily family activities. The life style and the arrangement of the house were made in such a way that individual privacy was strictly maintained.

²³ These were: mother's age, years of schooling, employment status, family's annual income, and number of children. Efforts were made to select mothers who were close to the national means of each category.

The child

David turned 4 years old in August, 1987, and lives in Edmonton, where he was born. He is the second son of the family and has one older brother, who was 7 years old. David didn't attend kindergarten or playschool and stayed home all the time. The mother noted that she did not see any need to send him to a daycare, because he was going to be attending a kindergarten in the following year. She considered that her own care in the home environment, which emphasized affectionate interaction with the child, was more important than any head-start in an academic subject benefitted from formal attendance in an institution.

The mother said that David is a "quiet" child. That statement was confirmed by the researcher's own observation. When she visited his home, he answered the door, but soon retired to his own activities, and did not initiate much communication. As far as his personality was concerned, David was similar to the two Korean children, Woojin and Gisuk, who also had a certain degree of shyness in their otherwise pleasant and cheerful interaction with people.

His daily routine starts between 7:30 and 8:00 am, when the parents get up. The mother makes a point of having the whole family together for breakfast. David, who is the only one in the family that does not have a particular reason to get up at that time, is also urged by the mother to synchronize his schedule with the others. This is due, in part, to the fact that the mother, who has a part-time job, has a rather tight schedule for her daily activities, and needs to maximize her work by following a fixed schedule. In contrast to Woojin's family, the mother keeps a fixed schedule, and David is requested to follow the rules of the house.

Most of his time during the day is spent playing or watching TV, and his friend named Jane often spends time with him. Unlike the Korean cases, where the children can visit one another at any time with no prior notice made by the mothers, Jane's visit is always a prearranged one: Jane's mother informs David's mother of her visit and asks if that is possible. David's social life is formalized through the adults' checking of a possible intrusion into the private life of the visited family. It appears that playing with friends, an etic concept observed in both cultures, needs to be specifically accounted for by emic concepts, the individually unique structure of the activity in the respective

7

cultures.

The need for the two conceptual distinctions is also found in the children's evening activity. As with the two Korean families, David's family has supper when the father comes home. The evening schedule is largely dependent upon the father, and in both cultures, the father's involvement highlights the evening family hours. It is also common to both cultures that the evening hours include playing games or some kind of getting-together activities. Such family get-togethers in the Korean culture are a rather spontaneous events resulting from the functional undifferentiation of the house which naturally brings the whole family together into the parents' room and allows them to slip into some kind of co-activities. The same kind of activity in the Canadian family occurs in a consciously constructed interactional context. The kinds of games to play are selected by the mother, and the parents are fully conscious of the educational value of such activities for the development of social skills and manners of the children. While the evening family hours are an etic concept common to both cultures, the underlying mechanisms and purposes of the activities vary across the cultures, and can be explained only by culture-specific emic properties.

The mother

The mother was born in Edmonton, Alberta. Her own parents are also from Alberta, and being asked her ethnic background, she, with no hesitation, identified herself as a Canadian. Although she was proud of herself being an "original" Canadian, there was some hesitation to entitle the family with a Canadian background. It was because the father had an English background, and the family maintained some of the English customs in their daily life. For instance, David called his grandmother nanny. But this ethnic background of the family did not mean much to the children, who were born and socialized in the Canadian society. The elder brother, Joe, the mother noted, being asked his ethnic background, asserted that he was a Canadian.

The mother's major socialization goal was to bring the children up to be socially nice people who were sociable, caring for others, and freely expressive. She placed particular stress on the children's free expression of their ideas, feelings, and needs. She couldn't agree with the father who was somewhat intolerant of the children making

"noise" in the house. According to her understanding, children should be permitted to freely express their ideas and feelings, to some extent. She not only encouraged the child to be expressive, but also openly expressed her own feelings. For instance, she did a lot of hugging and kissing to express her love for her children. To her, explicit expressions are the only way through which ideas or feelings are communicated to the others. She found it puzzling to see oriental parents, who were often known for their selflessly devoted love and care for their children, not have much physical contact such as kissing or hugging to express their emotions towards their children. Her belief was that when both the children and the parents had their own opinions or feelings, they had all the right to express them and to let others know about them.

In relation to this, she was convinced that the children should be allowed to be children, young members of the society. She thought that the children were still incompetent members of the community failing to observe the rules of the adults' world. Instead of expecting and demanding the children to follow the parents' idea, she argued that the parents should adjust themselves to the demands of the children's world. In eating out, for instance, she objected to the adults' conversation after the meal and insisted on hurrying home, because she believed that the children could not withstand an hour of adults' conversation at the end of the meal.

An important point to make here is that the perception of David's mother about children and their limited psychological world is qualitatively different from that of the two Korean mothers, who also assumed the children's dependence on the adults. What underlies the child-centred thinking of David's mother is the child's right to be an independent member of the family, and therefore to be respected in that particular regard. Just as the adults are entitled to exercise their authority as more competent members of the community, the children should be given the same opportunity to exercise their individual rights. They should be allowed to express their ideas and feelings, and pardoned for any possible interruption of the adults' life. In contrast, the Korean mothers do not focus on the children's individual rights. What concerns the Korean mothers most is the children's "yet-to-be-sophisticated" psychosocial state. When the children's immaturity is what is focused on by the mothers, the mothers comes to assume rather heavily weighted child-caring responsibility on their part, and the

perception of the children as an independent individual becomes a even more foreign idea.

Confirming her stress on the person's individuality, David's mother did not fail to mention her own career development. While she was truly a devoted mother to her children, her own career and self-development were as important to her as her role as a mother. She said she did not want to be left with nothing to do when the children grew up. An expectation was there for a possibly reduced significance of her role as a caregiver, and her psychological preparation for this later phase of her life was already being undertaken. Such issues as the mother's self-development or career development were, on the other hand, absent in the Korea mothers. They were never observed presenting and perceiving themselves as anything other than caregivers of the children. Furthermore, the Korean mothers' assumed role of caregiver covered a longer period of time until the children's marriage, compared with the puberty, in the case of David's mother. While the Korean mothers put a priority on their role as mothers, to David's mother, such a caregiver role is at best one constituent of the whole of her independent individuality.

Canadian family: Charles

General profile of the family

The family was introduced to me through the director of Charles' child care centre. Given the mother's name and phone number, the researcher directly contacted the mother and informed her of all the involved procedures of the research. As she agreed to all the conditions of the participants, she was accepted.

Charles' family consisted of his younger sister, who was one year old, and the parents. The father came from Holland 11 years ago. His restaurant business earned the family an upper middle class standard of living. While his business kept him away from home most of the time and left him relatively little time to be concerned with the child rearing at home, his European style of child discipline often created conflict with the mother. He, for instance, advocated harsh punishment upon Charles' misbehaving. His justification was that in Holland the children were encouraged to be mature from an early

age. The mother has an extra burden in her caregiver role to find compromise with the father's insistence on such a strict method.

Charles' house was located in the south side of the city, Malmo Plains. The area was a middle class neighborhood. As with David's neighborhood, the area was quiet and not many interactions among the neighbors were seen from the street. During the participation period, no visitors or friends of the mother or the child from the neighborhood were observed. Charles' friends were mostly those in the day care centre where he went for half a day. Since those children in the centre were from various parts of the city, unless there was a special occasion like a birthday, they were seldom invited to Charles' house to play. Charles' friend, Robert, who was the only friend of Charles visiting him during the research, was also not from the neighborhood. They became friends, because the parents were friends. The social circles of both David and Charles were formulated through the parents' involvement, whereas in Korea, the openness among the neighborhood provided a relatively natural base for the socialization of the children.

Charles' life style was not only formalized, but also highly individualized. The house provided each member with his/her own room. Charles' room was furnished with his own bed, desk, chair, and toy stacks. Individual places were designated in a common area such as the kitchen. Charles had his own cup, spoon, and plate, and had his own place and chair at the table. One spacious corner of the basement was reserved for Charles' playing, and when he wanted to play with his toys, it was suggested that he go either to the basement or to his own room, but not to any other place in the house. Except for one time when Charles watched a video on the TV placed in the parents' bedroom, he was not observed using the room for his daily activities. Like in David's house, there was a strict differentiation of the living space, and Charles was socialized to learn how to observe this differentiation rule in his living space.

The child

Charles was a 4 year old boy born in Edmonton in 1983. He was attending a day care centre at the University of Alberta, and his "formal" education started when he was 2 years old. The mother, who was seeking more professional care for her son from this

early period, enrolled him in a neighborhood daycare centre. During this period, Charles was found to have a relatively high IQ score. The discovery of Charles' intellectual ability pressured the mother to search for a better place for her son's education. The University centre was the solution, and at the time of participation, Charles had been going to the centre for over a year.

In contrast to the other three participating children, Charles was relatively talkative and outwardly friendly with the researcher. When she arrived at his house for the first time, he greeted her readily and even invited her to participate in his play, whereas the other three children tended to retire to their own work or room after greeting the researcher. His friendliness seemed to have something to do with his willingness to talk with people. Having had many books read to him by his parents, he was very imaginative and always had something to talk about. Particularly, his imaginary friend Vicky conjured up endless stories, and urged him to let other people know about this "important person" in his world.

His daily routine is no different from that of the other three children, except for his half-day attendance at the centre. He gets up at 7 o'clock, and later joins his mother and little sister for breakfast. The father's business usually keeps the father away from family meals, and Charles was so used to this kind of family life that one time when he heard that the father would come home for supper he expressed surprise. With his mother and sister around, Charles spends his morning hours watching children's programs on TV, before being taken to the centre by his mother.

During the day he is usually the "centre of attention," and comes home tired and does not get involved in much activity during the rest of the afternoon. Even when he does, he always plays alone. The mother stays home with him all the time to attend to his various needs, but is not intensively involved in Charles' play. There were, however, some specific activities which both the mother and the child participated in together. These were usually what the mother initiated with a special educational purpose in mind. Crafting, carving, or some other types of housework such as cleaning or cooking are examples of these activities.

In fact, as far as these planned activities were concerned, the Canadian mothers were far more active than their Korean counterparts. There was a clear distinction

between the child's lone playing and the mother-involved educational playing. When it came to the latter type of activity, the Canadian mothers made an effort to distinguish it from the rest of the child's activities. This distinction was made by the mothers' pre-announcement of the plan and some preparatory behaviors. For example, in making a leaf picture, Charles' mother announced the plan to the child beforehand so that the child anticipated the event as part of his schedule. When the child's other activities conflict with this plan, the conflict had to be resolved through a negotiative process. The activity itself was also so structured that it had three phases of preparation, actual making, and cleaning, and the child was strictly instructed to follow the rule. Differentiation of the particularity of the specific situation was clearly known to the child through various channels.

It was not only the activities that were run on a differentiation process. The child's daily routine itself was differentiated in terms of time and content. For example, his bed time was set at 9 o'clock. Regardless of Charles' physical or psychological state at this hour, the time was set for him to go to bed, and he had to observe this differentiated time set of his daily routine. Also, at his bedtime, he was expected to be read bedtime stories by his mother. Since it was also a rule at bedtime to be read a book, when his mother could not observe this rule on her part, she had to make it explicit to the child why the rule could not be observed. The formalized and differentiated life style of the child required many explanations, explicit communications, and negotiative processes between the mother and the child.

Mother

Charles' mother was born, grew up and educated in Alberta. Mentioning her own mother's being born a Canadian, she was, by her own account, an "original" Canadian.

One of her major concerns with her child was to provide him with a good education so that he would be fully qualified to be a competent member of the society when he grew up. The child's self-esteem was also mentioned as one of the significant concepts that had to be fostered through the mother's rearing practice. Alarmed by the high rise of the teenage suicidal rate, she saw it one of her major responsibility to secure a stable psychological development for the child. A notable thing was that the

mother viewed good education and a stable personality as key factors for the child to function as an individual in the society. In other words, those were regarded as indispensable conditions for the child to become a fully functioning member of the society. Although the Korean mothers, too, recognized the importance of those properties, they did not conceive of them as necessary for the child to become a cultured **independent** member of the society. A concept of the child as an independent member of society is a foreign concept to the Korean mothers.

The contrast between the two groups of mothers in their different perceptions of their roles in the family was as great as the differences in their views of the children. The two Korean mothers camouflaged their presence in the family with their homemaker roles. The mothers' individual concerns soon passed under the societal pressure to conform. But in the case of Charles' mother, her position as a homemaker remained a constant source of her personal frustration. For instance, she admitted that it still remained a regret to her that she had to leave her university education behind upon Charles' birth. Although she believed that it was a wise choice, her incomplete education often got in her way of a more promising and challenging job field, and she was not happy to see the opportunities for her individual growth disappear.

Charles' mother experienced personal conflict. On the one hand, there were the traditional responsibilities. On the other hand, being fairly well, she sometimes wondered about her personal fate. One sees here perhaps the beginning of the type of alienation so widely reported by Western women caught up on the dual problem of cultural constraint and personal ambition.

B. Data Collection

The initial pilot study allowed the researcher to identify certain thematic progress categories. The present data collection allowed the researcher, 1) to verify their authenticity, 2) to make modifications to them if necessary. As it turned out, the modifications were more in terms of detail than of substance. The pilot study also allowed the researcher to gather the data on prolonged single visitations to each site.

Recording procedures

Pre-sessions

Each mother-child pair had one pre-session and 15 video-taping sessions. For a pre-session interview, the researcher visited the family's home and introduced herself in person to the mother and the child. A letter that outlined and authorized the research was released to the mother from one of the thesis committee members. Other documents that formally identified the researcher were also presented to the mother.²⁴

The main purpose of the pre-session was to inform the mother of more details of the research and to make her familiar with the procedure. Establishment of rapport with the mother was a primary concern. In an attempt to attain this trustful relationship, the mother was told at some length about the research. She knew that the research involved a cross-cultural comparison of child socialization processes and was concerned with communicative interaction.

The researcher also made sure to familiarize herself with the children and to gain their confidence. They were asked their names and generally engaged in ordinary conversation with the researcher. They were also told that the researcher was interested in knowing how they played and acted in their daily life. Not being very interested in what the main purpose of the participation was, the children looked amused with the fact that someone would come regularly to see and take pictures of them.²⁵ The pre-session ended with having the mother sign a consent form that the researcher had brought to formalize the participation.²⁶

After discussing the date and time for the first session, the researcher thanked the mother and departed.

Recording sessions

Each recording session consisted of three parts: a brief pre-recording conversation, video-taping, and general discussion. During the pre-recording

²⁴ See Appendix 1.

²⁵ The children's initial attention to this "picture-taking" event did not cause any distraction to them during the recording. Although they were delighted to see themselves replayed in the monitor, during the recording, they did not look disturbed with the picture-taking procedure.

²⁶ See Appendix 2.

conversation, the researcher was usually briefed as to what had been going on before her arrival. This conversation was managed as briefly as possible, so that the activity in which the mother-child dyad was engaged was not interrupted. While the mother and the child continued with their activity, the researcher set up the camera, and taping slipped in as part of the ongoing activities.

When one of the dyad left the recording scene, the researcher remained in the original location. But when both mother and child moved to another place, they were followed by the camera. In following them, the researcher made sure that a certain distance was maintained from them so as to minimize the obtrusiveness of the camera. When the mother or the child directed and spoke to the researcher, she responded appropriately, but minimally. Such partial participation of the researcher was felt necessary to create a more natural context for them. The taping lasted for 30 minutes per session. Even when the data collected were scanty, no extra time was permitted.

When the taping was over, the mother and the researcher usually sat together to chat or discuss a variety of things. The conversation was normally centred upon the day's recorded activity and other related general concerns about child rearing. These after-session discussions or talks were invaluable in understanding the recorded activities as well as the mother and the child in general. These conversations were all summarized as observational notes for the sessions.

Activities

As the main purpose of the research was to look at the natural communicative events in the child's daily life, no specific instructions were given to the mother regarding the specific contents of the activities to be recorded. But the mothers' psychosocial topography can vary with the types of activities in which they were engaged. So the researcher had to determine the types of recorded activities in terms of the interactional intensity, the degree to which the mother and child collaboratively interacted. The mothers were guided in this regard.

Mothers were told that there were by and large 3 types of activities to be recorded and that it would be desirable if 5 sessions could be proportionately allotted to each type of activity. All of the participating mothers said that they would prefer to be

briefed on how the sessions had progressed in regard to each activity. The mothers were provided with this information, so that they did not overdo one type of activity.

The 3 types of activities were distinguished by the intensity of the interaction required. The first type was named Highly Structured (HS) activities. HS activities referred to those in which both the mother and the child focused upon one particular task and were engaged in a highly collaborative interaction. Book-readings, paper-construction, cooking, or baking, were examples. A HS situation must entail a specific task for the mother and the child to jointly accomplish.

The second type of activity was called Semi-Structured (SS) activities. Here, the mother and the child were not engaged in a specific task to complete, but in a potentially communicative context. Communication during meal times was a good example. Here the possibility for an onset of interaction was high, although there was no specific task requiring intensively collaborative efforts from the two parties. SS activities are analogous to Hymes' concept of "speech situation." The last type was Loosely-Structured (LS) activities. Here the mother and the child might be engaged in separate activities, and occasionally come to interact. For example, while the child was playing with toys, the mother might be doing ironing or cooking, and interaction occurred when the child invited the mother to attend to his activities, or when the mother noticed a problem and spontaneously came to interfere with and comment on the child's activities. The activities recorded in each mother-child dyad are as follows:

Table 7
The Types of Activities Recorded in Each Family.

	Korean		Canadian	
Highly Structured	Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles
	Games(8) ¹ games(11) reading(12) cooking(14) coloring(15)	Reading(6) reading(7) Origamy(8) playdoh(10) playdoh(11)	coloring(3) baking(4) games(7) reading(8) baking(12)	carving(1) baking(3) playdoh(5) reading(10) games(13)
Semi Structured	cleaning(1) meal(3) talk(6) washing(9) dressing(10)	meal(2) washing(12) snacking(13) dressing(14) Origamy(15)	T.V.(2) ² meal(6) T.V.(11) cleaning(14) bathing(15)	meal(2) meal(4) cleaning(7) play(14) cleaning(15)
Loosely Structured	play(2) play(4)	play(1) play(3)	painting(1) painting(5)	eating(6) play(8)

	play(5) play(7) play(13) play(15)	play(4) T.V.(5) drawing(9)	painting(9) coloring(10) play(13)	eating(9) playing(11) play(12)
T.S.T. ³	15	15	14	15

¹ The session number.

² Due to the technical fault, the session could not be transcribed, and was deleted.

³ The total number of sessions transcribed.

Temporal factors

The selection of times of recording was the function of various factors. Firstly, efforts were made to choose times during which other members of the family were not present. These were, for all the families, mostly between morning hours after the father and the older siblings went to work and to school, and the supper time. If the siblings or the children's friends happened to be present, however, they were allowed to stay in the scenes.²⁷

Secondly, recording times were shifted to appropriate zones when a specific type of activity was taped. For instance, as a Semi-Structured type of activity, the child's washing his face, getting dressed, and making the bed were taped in all the participating dyads. For those activities, a visit had to be made rather early in the morning when the child was doing those as part of his natural daily routine. On the whole, as long as the researcher could keep up with the number of sessions assigned to each type of activity, no specific demands were made as to when to carry out the sessions. Rather, efforts were made to keep the participating mother and child at ease.

With regard to the frequency of the researcher's visits, the mother was told, during the pre-session, that the optimal frequency would be twice a week. This scheduling was suggested to make the observation of each mother-child dyad at least over a two month period of time. Appropriate changes had to be made, however. For example, in Charles' case, the taping had to be discontinued for two weeks due to the recurrence of a throat problem. In such cases, there were rather long temporal gaps between sessions. On the other hand, even though the participants were at their best

²⁷ The number of sessions in each family in which an extra interactant was present is as follows: Woojin, 9; Gisuk, 5; David, 6; Charles, 6. In the actual analyses, the interactions between the child and his friends, or between the mother and the others rather than the participating child, were omitted.

for the sessions, no more than 3 sessions were made a week. The intention behind this spaced scheduling was to observe the participants under various conditions over a considerable length of time.

Equipment

The video camera was a portable Camcorder which contained a unified camera, recorder, and monitor. It also had a built-in microphone. An extended extra microphone was used to maintain the maximum distance from the mother and the child. The microphone looked like a filing card and functioned to absorb all the sounds that were reflected on the surface on which it was placed. It permitted the researcher to record even the breathing sound of the participants or any noise made on the surface by the participants.

The automatic focus provided the researcher with extra flexibility in shooting, making it possible to catch clear pictures of every movement. The attached zoom lens also enabled the researcher to get the whole picture of the scenes even at greater distance. Furthermore, the automatic close-up button could elaborate a specific part of the picture without actually approaching the subjects. The best feature of the machine was its size, which took up only a negligible space in the context, and thereby helped minimize the obtrusiveness.

Transcription

The recorded sessions were immediately transcribed following each session. Both verbal and nonverbal communication were transcribed. Other contextual information, which was deemed essential in understanding the utterances, was also included. The transcriptions were initially done by the researcher and cross-examined by native speakers of each language. A third year education student in Korea assisted with the Korean data, and a U of A education student reviewed the Canadian data. The re-checking procedure did not cover the whole corpus of data. Instead, 3 sessions were selected from each mother-child dyad, one session being drawn from each type

of activity²⁸ The levels of agreement in transcriptions are presented below.²⁹

Table 8
The Levels of Agreement in Transcription

	Korean		Canadian	
T.N.R. ¹	Woojin	Gisuk	David	Charles
Agreement	880	1293	1107	1508
	98%	98%	95%	96%

¹ Total number of utterances reviewed.

The daily communicative data were collected from the participating mothers and children in both cultures as the first step to investigate the cultural difference in psychosocial dynamics. The notion of thematic progress initially served as a guiding function. The subsequent endeavors focused on the clarification of the understanding which emerged from the application of the thematic progress categories in each culture. Those endeavors included searches for other communicative frameworks which could enhance the emerging understandings of the cultural differences and similarities in psychosocial dynamics. The following is a description of how the successive searches were made and what the differences and similarities are.

C. Analyses

Search for unit of analysis

The first step to analyze the data was to determine the basic unit of analysis. Without this knowledge, the communicative data could not be properly organized. The nature of this knowledge was concerned with how to conceptualize the communicative exchanges made by the mother and the child to make possible examination of the psychosocial dynamics between them.

²⁸ These sessions also served the sampling sessions of other subsequent cross-checks of the scoring procedures.

²⁹ For a sample of transcription, see Appendix 3.

Utterance

The notion of thematic progress, which was proposed as an initial communicative feature to the study of psychosocial dynamics, assumed an utterance as a basic unit of speech. Problems with this utterance-based concept of thematic progress become evident when one considers the fact that the communicative exchanges made by the mother and the child often consist of more than one utterance. For example, consider the following conversation.

C:(a) I don't like cheese.

(b) I didn't eat that cauliflower with cheese yesterday.

M:(c) Yeah, you left all of them.

When we take an utterance as the basic unit of speech, a problem arises as to which utterances of the child's talk should be taken as a triggering utterance of the mother's utterance (C). Thematically speaking, (b) is the one to which the mother's utterance is directed and responded. And the pair of turns, (b) - (c), is where the psychosocial dynamic between the mother and the child can be examined. But unless the unit of analysis is defined otherwise, the child's utterance (a) cannot be simply disregarded, because it is also an utterance consisting of the child's turn of communication.

A more serious problem can occur in a situation such as:

C: I didn't eat that cauliflower with cheese yesterday.

M:(a) Yeah, you didn't eat at all,

(b) you know that you should eat good food,

(c) it is good for your body.

The mother's three utterances, (a), (b), and (c), are all related to the child's utterance. If each utterance is hypothesized as the basic unit, a problem arises as to whether the mother's response should be considered as three individual events, or as

one single event. The first case will focus on the individual occurrences, whereas the latter focuses on the thematic unity among the separate utterances.

Move

Goffman's suggestion for these problems would be to switch to the notion of *move*. Move is "any full stretch of talk or of its substitutes which had a distinctive unitary bearing on some set or other of the circumstances" (Goffman, 1981, p. 24). A move is not necessarily restricted to one turn, although it could coincide with one turn. One move could be stretched over different turns. An example would be:

C:(a) I don't like cheese.

M:(b) That's no good.

C:(c) But I can eat pizza.

M:(d) Yeah..but you should also eat cheese in cauliflower.

C:(e) If you make it today, I'll try.

M:(f) That's good.

The child makes a thematic change in utterance (e). It is a thematic move on the part of the child from the fact that he doesn't eat cheese in cauliflower. This move is made over the turns from (a) to (c). So if one takes the move as a basic unit of analysis, the stretched turns from (a) to (c) would represent the communicative attempt made by the child. In this case, the exchanges between (a) and (b), and between (b) and (c) of the mother and the child are overlooked, and the "micro" dynamics located in these individual turns are left unexamined.

The concept of move would be most appropriate to study the overall thematic development over the number of turns. But the present study's interest is in examining how the exchanges are managed in **each individual turn**. The emphasis is on the contributions made or roles played by each turn in maintaining the communication.

Turn